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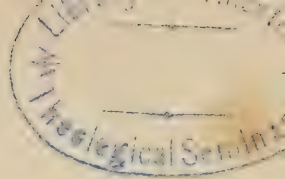




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Occupying the Apostolic Throne and giving Benediction to a Bishop



VESTIARIVM CHRISTIANVM

The Origin and Gradual Development

OF

THE DRESS OF HOLY MINISTRY

IN THE CHVRCH

BY THE

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and Preacher, by license from the Bishop, in the Diocese, of Oxford.

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PREFACE.

HISTORICAL or antiquarian investigation is one thing, theological controversy is another. There is time, and there is place, for both; but not for both the same time and the same place, without disadvantage to the former of the two. Under this conviction I have studiously put aside, in the Treatise which follows, all reference to the passing controversies of these days, and have made it my one object to collect every fact of importance bearing upon the subject immediately before me, to set it before my readers in such a way, as shall enable them to form their own estimate of its value, and at the same time to offer, for whatever may be its worth, the interpretation which I myself believe to be the true one.

And even now that my work is complete, a work that originated in the controversies of these days, and that touches, as I believe, upon those controversies in many points of the greatest importance, I still think it better, on many grounds, to adhere to the same course. The objects I have in view will, I believe, be best attained, if I leave the monuments, here reproduced, to tell their own tale, and to produce conviction by their own force, without any attempt on my part to apply their lessons in detail to questions of Ritual, or of Doctrine, now disputed in the Church.

But there is one duty which I must take this opportunity of discharging, though it is beyond my power to do so adequately. I have to express my grateful thanks to all those (they are very many) from whom, in various ways, I have received assistance in my work. Among these I may be allowed to refer more

particularly to the Trustees, and the Officers, of the British Museum. To Mr. Newton as an old friend, to Mr. Bond, and Mr. A. Franks, with no other claim but that of a common interest in antiquarian study, I have often had recourse, and never without receiving the readiest and the most efficient help.

To Mr. Woodward, Her Majesty's Librarian at Windsor, I have to acknowledge many special obligations. And I know that I shall do so in the manner that will be most acceptable to him, if I take this opportunity of saying, that in making available for literary study the resources of the Library under his charge, he is but carrying out the express commands of H.R.H. the Prince Consort, under the sanction of the Queen. It was the Prince's desire, that as soon as the arrangement of the Library, commenced under his direction, should be sufficiently advanced, it should be made accessible for purposes of study as far as might be consistent with its special character. As one of the first to have profited, as I have most largely, by the permission thus given, I venture to express my grateful acknowledgments, and to make known this additional illustration of the generous consideration for others, and regard for the interests of Literature, which were conspicuous in the lamented Prince.

I have received communications of much interest and value in reference to particular questions, from Mr. Droop, Mr. Wilshire, the Rev. J. C. Wynter, Mr. W. Simpson, and others. I have gladly availed myself of the information so received.

For the Illustrations of this Volume I have been dependent, mainly, upon two very skilful Photographers, Mr. Preston and Mr. Saunders; and on a Copyist, all but photographically exact, Mr. A. Reid, of the South Kensington Museum. I am also greatly indebted to Signor Scifoni, of Rome, for Drawings made from MSS. in the Vatican Library and elsewhere.

I ought not to conclude without saying, how much I owe to more than one foreign writer whose books I have laid under contribution. Treating though they do of subjects keenly

controverted for the last three hundred years, they write in a spirit of loyal devotion to the Truth, and the Truth alone, such as others, differing widely from them in doctrinal prepossessions, might well desire to imitate. In saying this, I refer particularly to Dr. Hefele, and the Chevalier De Rossi, from both of whom I have learnt much, and hope to learn much more.

I have frequently made use of the admirable Compendium of Professor Weis, and of the special Treatise on Liturgical Vestments by Dr. Bock. This latter work contains minute information, not to be found elsewhere, as to the material, shape, and ornamentation, of Mediæval Vestments.

Nor must I pass over without mention yet another writer, Dr. Rock, a fellow-countryman of my own. His learned work, "The Church of our Fathers," contains much interesting information on the early History of Vestments in this country. He writes, as those who know him will not need to be told, with a doctrinal object in view, with which the writer of the present Treatise cannot sympathise. But I gladly bear testimony to the extensive research, of which his work gives proof; and I regret that my own book was all but completed before I had any opportunity of consulting his pages.

And now I have only to send forth my work to the light, with the expression of my earnest hope, that it may contribute, in some small measure at least, to a more accurate knowledge of the Past; and, in so doing, help in its degree to the guidance of the Church, in our own days, through the difficulties of these present times, and of the uncertain but not unhopeful Future that awaits Her.

ETON,

January 29, 1868.

ERRATA.

Page xii., note o. quoted in App. A. *erase*.

- xxxii., line 13. *For* St. Clement *read* St. James
- xxxviii., note τ. *For* given in the Canons *read* conceded by long custom
- lviii., line 10. *For* fought *read* ought
- lxx., note θ. *For* No. 27 *read* No. 26
- lxxviii., line 14. *For* Vienna *read* Vienne
- lxxxviii., note ψ. *For* 1430 *read* 1438
- 15, line 13. *For* and these of *read* and of these
- 22, line 22. *Remove comma after* pectore
- 42, line 2 of the text. *For* κατηγοράσας *read* κατηγορήσας
- 88, note 157 *in fn.* *For* Cap. *supra* *read* Cf. *supra*
- 106, line 6. *Insert comma (in place of full stop) after* consecrantur
- „ note 206. *For* or its place *read* for its place
- 148, line 3. *For* orma *read* forma
- 149, line 3. *For* cum integra fit *read* cum unica fit
- 151, line 3. *For* subjects *read* subject—*for* then *read* them
- „ line 12. *For* meniti *read* muniti
- 168, note 144. *For* to homage *read* of homage
- 181, note 374. *For* facco *read* succo
- 196, line 22. *For* appear *read* wear
- 207, note 427. *For* utuntur *read* utantur
- 209, note 429. *After* Archbishop of Milan *insert* (in the fourth century)
- 222, note 454, line 1. *Omit* which
- 226, note 464. *For* bauiekin *read* baudekin
- 246, plate lxiii. This is so numbered in order to correspond with the number on the plate itself. The number ought to have been lxii. both on the plate and in the description.
- 247, line 19. *For* p. xliii. The Prophet Malachi *read* p. xxxiv. The Prophet Malachi
[To the List of Woodcuts there given should have been added the following :—
- xliii. A Representation of Our Lord, from the same MS. as that last described.]
- 248. *Erase the words*, the coin just below the roll, the marriage dowry

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THE ORIGIN AND GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF ECCLESIASTICAL DRESS.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE question, what vestments are to be regarded as proper to offices of holy ministry in Christ's Church, is one that of late has been keenly debated, and is still for various reasons exciting considerable interest.

There are those who believe that the dress of Christian ministry was from the first, under Divine guidance, and, by Apostolic authority, modelled, in detail, upon the dress of the Aaronic priesthood. But, after all that has been written in disproof of this opinion of late years, especially by learned Roman Catholic writers, whose bias would naturally incline them to its support, this belief must be regarded as an opinion due to doctrinal prepossessions on the part of the few who still maintain it, rather than as one which admits of serious support upon historical grounds.

On the other hand, it may be said with truth, that there were features of analogy between the two types of dress, although the points of difference were in primitive times far more strongly marked than the points of resemblance.

Among those ^a who have examined the question upon

^a See, for example, the concise statement of Jacobus Sirmondus quoted in the second part of this volume (p. 47).

Nearly the same conclusions are maintained by Dr. Hefele in his essay on the "Liturgical Vestments" [Beiträge

purely antiquarian or historical evidence, the more general opinion is such as this: —That in the Apostolic age there was no essential difference between the drefs worn by Christians in ordinary life, and that worn by bishops, priests, or other clerics, when engaged in offices of holy ministration. But that after the lapse of three or four centuries the drefs of ordinary life became changed, while that worn in ecclesiastical offices remained in form unchanged, though ever more and more richly decorated. That from these causes a marked distinction was gradually brought about between the drefs of the clergy and that of the laity (to say nothing of the monastic orders who were distinguished from them both); that, as time went on, the ordinary drefs of the clergy themselves came to be distinguished, in form, in colour, and in name, from that in which they ministered; while at length yet a further distinction was introduced as between the drefs of the more ordinary ministrations, and the more splendid Vestments reserved for the highest Offices of all, and for occasions of special solemnity.

There is much in this second statement which is undoubtedly true. But the evidence to be alleged in the following treatise will show, that important modifications of that statement, and additions to it, must be made, if we wish to convey an exact idea of what was the Primitive and Apostolic type of ministering drefs, and what the successive stages of its gradual development. The most important of these modifications and additions of which I speak, it may be well, before proceeding further, briefly here to indicate.

zur Kirchengeschichte &c., von Dr. C. J. Hefele, 'Tubingen, 1864.] Even Dr. Bock, who with great erudition and much ingenuity, traces out resemblances between the Roman vestments *now in use* and those of the Levitical priesthood, is constrained by the force of facts to admit that

this resemblance was brought about by changes first made after the close of the eighth century. [Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters, Band i. cap. vi. p. 413.] Compare Thomassinus, *Vetus et nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina*. Part i. Lib. ii. cap. xliii. 299.

Dividing the history of the Church, for the purposes of this inquiry, into three periods, we may regard the first, or Primitive Period, as extending to the close of the four first centuries. The second, or Transition Period, as of four hundred years more, to the close of the eighth century. The third period may be considered as extending to the present time, but as subdivided, in respect of the churches of the West, by the age of the Reformation.

THE FIRST, OR PRIMITIVE PERIOD.

In the Primitive Period, of about 400 years, the dress of Christian ministry was in form, in shape, in distinctive name, identical with the dress worn by persons of condition, on occasions of joyous festival, or solemn ceremonial. And this was a dress which in such wise differed from the Habit of every-day life, and of ordinary wear, that it was marked out plainly in the eyes of all as a garb proper to occasions of religious worship, and of solemn assembly in the Presence of God.

In the centuries that have elapsed since the close of that first Period, modifications of the Primitive type, and additions to it, have been made from time to time. These modifications and additions have varied in degree, and in kind, in various branches of the Church. And when traced (as they admit of being traced) to their causes, they are found to reflect faithfully important changes through which such churches have passed, either inwardly, by reason of innovations upon Primitive Doctrine, or outwardly through vicissitudes of political position. For a striking example of what is here asserted, we may do well to confine our attention for the present to the Churches of the West, as being those in which we ourselves have chief

concern, and as affording ampler materials for investigation than do the Eastern Churches.

THE SECOND, OR PRIMITIVE PERIOD.

Passing on then to the Second Period (from *circ.* 400 to 800 A.D.) the facts which come before us are these. When in the fifth century overwhelming tides of invasion from the North swept in succession over the face of Southern Europe, the purity of the old Latin speech, and the dignity of the old Roman garb, became, for the first time, distinctive marks to which the inheritors of the older civilisation of Rome clung with affection, as separating them, even in outward semblance, from the revolutionary barbarism about them. And, accordingly, after this older costume had disappeared from common use, it was still preserved in the state dresses of Roman official dignitaries, and in the vestments which alone were considered seemly for such as ministered in the various offices of the Church. During this period of transition, the slight but significant distinctions, both of dress and Insignia, which from very early times had been employed in the Church, were not unfrequently the subjects of special regulation, and were modified and added to by degrees.

THE THIRD PERIOD.

Passing now to the Third Period, we shall find that in the sudden but very brief revival of learning and of art which marks the age of Charlemagne, the peculiarities of ecclesiastical dress began to attract the special attention of the more learned ecclesiastics of the time. Certain points of analogy between the older vestments of the Levitical priesthood and the ministering

dress of the Church, had been made the subject of occasional allusion even in earlier writers. But now for the first time was the attempt made to trace out in detail a correspondence between the 'eight vestments' of the Jewish high-priest, and those of Christian ministry. The idea once embraced took strong hold upon the mind of churchmen. And as, in the ninth century, the points of difference between the two types of dress were, to say the least, quite as evident, as the marks of resemblance, changes and additions were rapidly made with a view to assimilating, as far as might be, the Christian to the older Levitical type. So that, if we take the eleventh or twelfth century as the period for comparison, instead of the age of the Apostles, the theory of an analogy in detail between the Levitical and the Christian vestments admits of being maintained with great plausibility.

The type of dress which was thus at length established has been maintained in the Roman Church, with very slight modifications only, to the present time. But when, after the revival of ancient learning, the Church of England reformed her faith and her discipline, upon the authority of Holy Scripture and the model of the Primitive Church, considerable changes were made among ourselves in that Mediæval and Roman type of dress. And the result has been that the customary ministering dress of the English clergy during the last three hundred years, has been in colour and general appearance, though not in name, all but exactly identical with that which we find assigned to the Apostles in the earliest monuments of Christendom, and which, upon similar evidence, we shall find reason to conclude was, in point of fact, the dress of Christian ministry in the primitive ages of the Church.

Such is, in general terms, the result to which the monuments of successive centuries, and the testimony of successive writers, seem to point. And now, as a first step towards establishing by direct evidence the various statements above made,

it will be well to remind ourselves what was the prevailing type of dress, and what the nature of official Insignia, in that first age of Christianity with which our inquiry begins.

But this opens up a somewhat wide subject, to which it will be well to devote a separate chapter.



CHAPTER II.

CIVIL DRESS IN THE FIRST CENTURY.

WITH a view to the question now before us, it is important to observe that the dress of ordinary life, in the first^β century of our era, was in all essential respects the same^γ in Syria, in Asia Minor, in Greece, and in Rome.

Nor have we far to seek in order to determine what this was. In the various monuments of ancient art in which representations of civil dress have been preserved to us, we find

β I speak here of the *first* century, because it is then that *in some way or other* the question of a dress proper to offices of Christian ministry must first have been practically determined. But what is stated above of the first century will apply to the first four hundred years of the Christian era. Throughout that time there were changes of fashion at Rome as between Toga and Pallium, and Pænula and Caracalla, and the like, but the general characteristics of the dress above described remained but little changed.

γ The following passage will serve to suggest the true cause of the general resemblance here noticed. "Greece and Rome may be regarded as the medium through which, in the designs of Providence, a flood of *Eastern civilisation* was destined to overspread the other-

wise barbarous West . . . The influence of Rome . . . has never yet ceased, though the *essentially Eastern characteristics* of Pelagic Rome have long since passed away. In truth, it is not easy to contemplate, even in imagination, a people walking about in sandals and white blankets, living in houses which retained, amidst all their incomparable splendour and luxury, the primitive Eastern arrangement of a central fireplace and a hole in the roof above it; reclining, like Turks or Arabs, on cushions at their meals; burning their dead like Hindus, and with all the idol accessories both in their homes and their temples (to say nothing of the impure rites), which still mark the pantheism of the unchanging East."—*Preface to Paley's Fasti*, p. xiv.

on examination two prevailing types, the characteristics of which can be recognised at a glance. They may be described respectively as the dress of active exertion, and the dress of dignified leisure, of festivity, or of solemn state. And of these two leading types two articles of dress are respectively characteristic. The *χίτων*, or *tunica*, the *chetoneth* of Holy Scripture, is the dress of activity. That same *χίτων*, or tunic, *with the addition of some full and flowing supervesture*, is the dress of dignity or of solemn state.

Of these two main constituents of ancient dress, common to both men and women, the Tunic was fitted somewhat closely to the body, and, when need required, was girt up so as to leave the lower limbs more or less free. It admitted, accordingly, of but little variety in shape, though it did admit, of course, of variety in material and in texture. And because of this simplicity the names by which it was known vary comparatively little. But there was a longer form of the tunic suited for occasions of state, known as the *χίτων ποδῆρης*, *tunica talaris*, that is, “reaching to the feet,” or “to the ankles,” as well as the shorter tunic commonly worn.

The supervesture, on the other hand, the prevailing form of which was that of a large blanket, or of a Highland plaid, admitted, as does such a plaid now, of the greatest variety in arrangement,—admitted too of every degree of splendour in respect of material, texture, and ornamentation. And to this portion of ancient dress we find, accordingly, a great variety of names assigned, indicative, many of them, of special modifications of the general type. Now a supervesture of this kind, full and flowing, was in the nature of things unsuited to energetic action, and even incompatible^δ with it. It was,

^δ Hence the frequent allusions in ancient authors to the throwing off of the outer garment (*ἱμάτιον*) when active exertion was required. Hom. Il. B. 183, is the earliest instance. Compare note 128, p. 73. (Part ii.)

therefore, associated in men's minds either with the peaceful occupations of rulers, statesmen, and councillors, or with those more solemn occasions of festivity or of worship, when, in the presence of the father of their house or of the chief of their tribe, or of God, at once their Father and their King, men gathered together in solemn assembly, and with a natural instinct of propriety put on their more beautiful apparel. Better illustrations of these two types of dress cannot be found than in two representations of our Lord which are of frequent occurrence in the early Catacombs. When He is represented (see Plate XIII.) as "The Good Shepherd," the figure (of classical origin, and nearly resembling the Ἑρμῆς καρύφορος of Calamis) is that of an actual shepherd, clad in the χίτων only, and that girt up, and reaching barely to the knee. But when He is represented, not allegorically but directly, as sitting in the midst of His disciples or of the Jewish doctors,² as giving food, which He Himself had blessed, to the feeding of great multitudes,³ as blessing young children,⁴ or raising dead Lazarus to life ;⁵ in all these cases alike both our Lord Himself and the Twelve (when they, too, are represented) are clad in what men then deemed a dress appropriate to all such occasions,

¹ This accounts for the idiomatic use of the word *toga* ; as in the *cedant arma togæ* of Cicero, or in the words preserved by S. Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* lib. xix.) as addressed to Roman citizens by the Senate, "*Depositis togis, Quirites, ite ad sagæ.*" [The *sagum* being a short *military* cloak.] Herein, too, note the pregnant implication of the closing epithet in the well-known line,—

"Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam ;"

"Lords of the world, a nation clad in garb of peaceful rule."

² See Plates XIV. and XV. The

first of the two has by some antiquaries been interpreted as representing our Lord among the Jewish doctors. Compare Plate XII.

³ This subject, suggestive of the deeper truths which underlie the miracle of the loaves, and which are dwelt upon by our Lord Himself in His subsequent discourse (John, chap. vi.), is one of very frequent occurrence in the earlier frescoes of the Roman Catacombs. See Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. pp. 59, 91, 95, 101, 249, 269, 333, &c.

⁴ See Plate XI.

⁵ Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. pp. 87, 123, 183, 205, 269, &c.

viz. in a full and flowing super-vestment worn over the χίτων, or tunic already spoken of.

LONG GARMENTS WHEN WORN.

This distinction between the long, full, and stately robes of which I have last spoken, and the shorter, closer, and more convenient drefs of active life, is one which meets us again and again both in the literature of antiquity, and in early monuments of art. It is one, too, which it is specially necessary to bear in mind in reference to the questions on which we are now engaged. And with a view to these the following points should specially be noticed.

The wearing of long garments by *men*, except for special reasons and on exceptional occasions, was, as is well known, regarded as a proof of effeminacy.*

But, on the other hand, on occasions of stately ceremony, — especially of religious ceremony, — this wearing of long garments (τὸ ποδηροφορεῖν in Greek phrase) was regarded^λ as a natural and appropriate mode of marking the cessation from laborious exertion proper to occasions of solemnity. Hence

* In the *East*, the tunic was as a rule worn longer than by the Romans. But even there the same feeling may be traced. Thus Clement of Alexandria, referring to Homer's well-known epithet for the Ionian people, says, οὗς Ὀμηρος ἐκθαλύων ἐλκεσιπέπλους καλεῖ (*Pædag.* ii. p. 233). Compare p. 238: τὸ σύρειν τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐπ' ἄκρους καθεῖς τοὺς πόδας κομιδῇ ἀλαζονικῶν, ἐμποδῶν τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ περιπατεῖν γινόμενον. For the West, St. Augustine's authority may suffice (*De Doct. Chrift.* lib. iii.). He says, *Talares ac manicatas tunicas habere olim apud Romanos opprobrium.* Compare Cicero's reproach against the

companions of Catiline as being conspicuous *manicatis ac talaribus tunicis, velis amictos non togis.*

λ As to the length of the tunic, the following is the *locus classicus* commonly referred to. Quintilian, *De Or.* lib. xi., *Cui lati clavi jus non erit, ita cingatur, ut tunica prioribus oris infra genua paulum, posterioribus ad medios poplites usque proveniant. Nam infra mulierum est, supra centurionum.* In other words, women wear a tunic reaching to the feet (*talaris*); soldiers, a short tunic, girt up above the knee; the orator, in his forensic habit, is to observe a medium between the two.

their use in representations alike of the last farewell spoken by a father over his daughter's grave (Pl. I.), by an emperor presiding at a sacrifice (Plate III.), by a bridegroom (Plate V. *bis*), pledging troth to his bride.

And in all the monuments of art bearing upon this matter it will be found that a long tunic is almost invariably worn whenever any supervestment of state,^μ or official dignity,^ν is worn above it.

CHANGE IN THE USE OF THE TOGA.

A further point of importance to the understanding of our present subject is this, that the older usage of the *toga* had ceased, and a new etiquette with regard to it had become

^μ Hence explain Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, ii. 3 (p. 886), ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν οὔτε ποικιλὴ οὔτε γυναικεία βλάβπτει τινα ἐσθῆς. Artemidorus, who will be often quoted upon the subject now before us, was a native of Asia Minor, a Greek by birth and education, a Roman by domicile, and a witness therefore who combines the traditions both of Greece and Rome. He practised as a physician at Rome early in the second century. The *Oneirocritica* is a treatise (as the title implies) on the interpretation of dreams, and abounds with curious details as to the dress and costume of that age.

^ν The only exception is in military dress, and that for obvious reasons. And because in military dress, therefore also in the dress of emperors; the original idea of the *imperator* being that of the first citizen of the republic in his character of commander of the

Roman armies. When appearing in that character he wears a short military cloak so arranged; generally, as to leave the *right, or sword arm*, wholly free from wrist to shoulder. But when he appears as *Pontifex Maximus* (as often on coins), and engaged in sacrifice, or as *Princeps Senatus*, he wears the full and flowing vestments, *Toga* and *Tunica talaris*, which were regarded as proper to religious ceremonial and to the stately dignity of a citizen prince — *rerum dominus, gentisque togatæ*, to paraphrase Augustus' own quotation. Hence explain Lampridius in *Alex. Severo*: *Accepit prætextam* (h. e. togam prætextam) *etiam tum cum sacra faceret, sed loco Pontificis Maximi, non Imperatoris*. For the two types of imperial dress compare the two principal figures in Plates III. and IV., and see the same distinctions illustrated in the various figures on the diptych of St. Paul forming the frontispiece to this volume.

established, before the introduction of Christianity into Rome. Under the republican *régime*, the free citizen, who as such had a right to share, and commonly did share, in the most exalted functions of government in a municipality which gave law to the "world," would never appear in Forum, in Senate (if such his rank), or in assembly of the people, without the characteristic drefs (note ε, p. ix), which marked him out as one of the "masters of the world." But when, after the establishment of the empire, the whole powers of government at home and abroad came to be concentrated in the hands of one man, and of his nominees, the general use of the *toga* was at once abandoned; and the far more convenient^ξ super-vestments, the *lacerna*,^ο or the *pallium*,^π substituted for it. Augustus attempted, but in vain, to resist an innovation

ξ Tertullian (*De Pallio*, p. 214) alludes to the many inconveniences involved in the use of the Toga. "Quid te prius in toga sentias, indutum anne onustum? Habere vestem, an bajulare? Si negabis, domum consequar; videbo quid statim a limine properes. Nullius profecto alterius indumenti depositio quam [*i.e.* magis quam] togæ gratulatur."

ο The *Lacerna* (χλάμυς, μανδύς, or ἐπιστράγῃς) was originally regarded as a garment proper to soldiers, and was considered therefore wholly unseemly in republican times within the walls of Rome. But under the empire it came into general use even in the city. Martial alludes to it as worn by spectators at the games. Epig. iv. 2, quoted in Appendix A.

π The word *Pallium* has a great variety of meanings (note 125) both in classical and in ecclesiastical Latin (notes 127, 129, 157, 195, 227). At Rome in the first century the word when specifically used served to desig-

nate the characteristic Greek drefs (the ἱμάτιον) in contradistinction from the *toga*, the national drefs of Latium. The *pallium* varied in size (as did the *toga*) according to the wealth and dignity of the wearer, and the occasion of greater or less ceremony on which it was worn. But there was one marked distinction between it and the *toga*, that the former was (when opened out) either square or oblong; the latter either circular or oval. [This must be said with some reserve, *ut in re adhuc sub judice*.] The following passages will illustrate what has been said. Suetonius in *Augusto*, cap. 98: "Ceteros continuos dies, inter varia munuscula, togas insuper ac pallia distribuit, lege propofita (*i.e.* making it a condition), ut Romani Græco, Græci Romano habitu uterentur." Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. cap. 2, speaking of the Romans when in Greece persisting in using Latin in the law courts: "Nulla non in re pallium togæ subijci debere arbitrabantur." See Plate V. *bis*.

which was due not to any mere caprice of fashion, but to the complete change in the status of Roman citizens brought about by Augustus himself. But what was in his own power he did, aided as he was by those traditionary associations which connected the *toga* in Roman minds with the whole course of their history even from earliest times. It was still thought of as the distinctively Roman dress,^e in contrast with the Greek *pallium* (*ἱμάτιον*); it was still regarded as the proper dress for ceremonial use on all occasions of state, of social or religious celebration. Thus it was contrary to etiquette to dine with the emperor,^r except in a *toga*. Advocates^r were still required to wear it; and Clients,^v at least on important occasions, in attendance upon their Patrons.

^e Suetonius, speaking of Augustus: *Visa quondam pullatorum* (the ordinary *lacerna* was of a dark colour) *turba, dedit negotium Edilibus ne quem paterentur in Foro aut in Curia nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere*. It was on the like occasion that he is represented as quoting, with indignation, the well-known line of Virgil, commented on in note ^e, p. ix.

^r Spartianus in *Severo*. "Habuit etiam aliud omen imperii, cum rogatus ad cœnam Imperatoriam palliatus venisset, *qui togatus venire debuisset*, togam præfidiariam ipsius Imperatoris accepit."

^r To this probably refers Juvenal, Sat. viii.

"Veniet de plebe togata
Qui juris nodos et legum ænigmata solvat."

And so Ovid, *Remed. Amor.* 150.

"Da vacuæ menti, quo teneatur, opus.
Sunt fora, sunt leges, sunt, quos tuearis,
amici.

Vade per urbanæ splendida [al. candida] castra togæ."

On this passage I may note in passing that *splendida*, which is probably the true reading, would convey to a Roman ear nearly the same meaning as *candida*, which, as a various reading, is probably a gloss upon the former word. Compare Seneca, Epist. v. "Non *splendeat* toga; ne sordet quidem." And for *candidus*, equivalent to *λαμπρὸς*, see note 19.

^v Hence the phrase, *opera togata*, used of "full-dress" ceremonial in general, and more particularly of the ceremonious attendance upon persons high in office or in station. Hence explain Martial, Lib. iii. Ep. 46.

"Exigis a nobis operam sine fine togatam;
Non eo, libertum sed tibi mitto meum."

And, again, Lib. ix. Ep. 101:

"Denariis tribus invitās, et mane togatum
Observare jubēs atria, Basse, tua;
Deinde hærerē tuo lateri, præcedere sellam,
Ad vetulas tecum plus minus ire decem,"

THE TOGA AS A GARMENT OF RELIGION.

But for our present purpose it is of special importance to note the use of the *toga* on occasions which were more particularly of a religious character. It was worn (but then black, or at least of dark colour) at funerals by mourners; while in a *white* toga were the dead themselves carried out to burial. It was worn by those who took part in public sacrifices,^φ as in the earlier times it had ever been. To this use of the *toga* Martial alludes when in writing to a friend (iv. Ep. lxv.) he congratulates him on the easy life he leads; and on this among other things, that living away from Rome, as he does, in a country town, he has not to take his *toga* out more than once or twice a month on "temple days," so to say.

"Egisti vitam semper, Line, municipalem,
Qua nihil in vita dulcius esse potest.
Idibus, et raris togula est excussa Kalendis."

And a similar usage of the *toga* is alluded to by Tertullian (*De Cor. Mil.* p. 358). He is speaking of a particular kind of *Corona* (or chaplet, note 54, p. 32) known as *Corona Hetrusca*. *Hoc vocabulum*, he writes, *est coronarum, quas gemmis, et foliis ex auro quercinis, ob Jovem insignes, ad deducendas thesas cum palmatis togis sumunt.*

SUMMARY.

Passages to a similar effect might be multiplied if need were. But enough has been said to determine the two points which it is of chief importance to my present purpose to make clear. First, that the use of long, full, and flowing gar-

^φ See, for example, the figure of the Emperor presiding at a sacrifice in Plate III. And see note ν above.

ments, was regarded in the Roman world generally, in the first century, as specially appropriate to all ceremonial occasions, whether civil or religious. And, secondly, that at Rome the *toga* had ceased to be worn as a garb of ordinary life, but was retained as the habit of ceremony, both civil and religious.

I need only add that where Greek drefs prevailed, the *pallium* (ἱμάτιον), in its fuller and more dignified form, occupied the same place relatively, as a drefs of ceremonial, as did the *toga* in Rome itself, and in those parts of the Roman world which adhered to Roman usage.



CHAPTER III.

§ 1. ASSOCIATIONS OF COLOUR IN THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES.

ENOUGH has been said in the last chapter on the subject of Drefs in general to allow of our proceeding now to a further question, that of the Colour, which, in the primitive age, was thought appropriate to the Drefs of Christian Ministry.

The earlieft monuments bearing upon this question, whether in literature, or in early Christian art, point to the conclusion that that Drefs was white.

And before we proceed to any more detailed examination of those monuments, it will be well to take note of the ideas which prevailed in the ancient world upon this subject of Colour, and of the causes to which that feeling may be traced.

In this place I shall do little more than state the general results to which the language of antiquity points; reserving to an Appendix^x the more detailed statement of the evidence bearing upon this question.

§ 2. ASSOCIATIONS OF COLOUR IN CLASSICAL WRITERS.

And, first, a few words as to the feeling of the ancient world generally upon this matter of Colour, apart from, and antecedent to, any exclusively Christian influences.

^x See Appendix A.

Black and sombre ^ψ colours, bright and gaudy colours, and lastly, white, these are the three main divisions with which we have to deal. And each of these had, in the minds of men generally, a certain accepted significance in the times of which we now are speaking, and that both in the East and in the West.

Black or dark garments, by a natural association, have ever been regarded as the expression of mourning.^ω They were also worn for obvious reasons of economy and of convenience by the poor, and by labouring men in general.

White, on the other hand, was the colour thought appropriate to joyous festivity of all kinds. Donatus (commenting on Terence) speaks for the general feeling upon this subject when he says, that "Bright white garments are for them that rejoice, and sombre clothing to them that grieve." *Læto vestitus candidus : ærumnoso obsoletus.*

A further point should here be noticed, that not among the Jews ^α only, but in the ancient world generally, white was regarded as the colour especially appropriate to things divine, and to religious worship. Thus Plato, ^β when speaking of the kind of offerings which may with most fitness be made to the gods, says, that "*White colours will be most seemly for gods, as in other things, so also in this of woven garments offered*

^ψ μέλαινα or φαία ἐσθῆς, in Greek writers: *atra, nigra, fusca, pullæ, vestes*, in the West; or to express a meaning nearly, though not exactly the same, *sordidæ* and *obsoletæ*.

^ω It may be well, however, to note that in some exceptional cases white was for women a colour of mourning; as to a certain extent it still is among ourselves. This, however, was only the case where, as an ordinary rule, bright and gay colours were worn. In all ages, and in all countries, the

conventional signs of mourning are to be explained by remembering that they consist in a reversing (more or less complete) of the habit of ordinary life. Thus where the hair is ordinarily worn short it is a sign of mourning to let it grow long; where the hair is generally long, as with women, it is a sign of mourning to cut it off.

^α See Appendix A, Part II.

^β Περὶ νόμων, xii. p. 956. Appendix A, No. 1.

to them. Dyed garments," he adds, "should not be offered, save only as ornaments of war."^v

Brilliant^δ and gaudy colours, lastly, had some more special associations of which a few words may be said before proceeding further.

And first, these more brilliant colours which could only be added to wool by art, and were very costly, were naturally associated in men's minds with ideas either of the splendour and luxury of the more wealthy, or of the ornate costume appropriated to designation of royal or official dignity. More especially was this the case with regard to purple,^ε which from its exceeding costliness was reserved, commonly, for designation of imperial rank, or to be worn by those, who from delegated office, or special privilege of favour, were allowed to wear imperial colours. Thus the Emperor Commodus, near the close of the second century, writes to Albinus,^ζ then high in

γ He refers of course to red, or colours approaching to red (*blood-red*), which have ever had a special association with the idea of war. The red shirt of Garibaldi's troops, of which we heard so much not long since, was the signal for battle with the Legions of the Republic two thousand years ago.

δ Ποικίλαι, ἀνθηραὶ, ἐσθῆτες with the Greeks, answering to the *picte vestes* of Roman writers. With these are contrasted in ancient writers *ιδιόχρωα εἴματα*, or *nativi colores*, the natural colours belonging to various kinds of wool. Some curious information as to the varieties of *natural colour* in wools, will be found in the Treatise of Lazarus Bayfius, *De Re Vest.* p. 563. Apulia was famous for its white wools; Spain for black; Liguria (the city Pollentia is specially named) for red; and Tarentum for the various

shades of tawny yellow designated by the epithet *fulvus*.

ε The *purpura* itself varied in price according to the varieties of quality and of manufacture [See Ferrarius *De Re Vest.* lib. ii. cap. 7.]. The Tyrian *δίαφορον* was the most costly; next to it the Tarentine dye; and, lastly, a much cheaper dye of home manufacture, such as was used at Rome in the earlier and simpler days of the Republic, and was retained (owing to the consecration imparted by long custom) in the dresses of some of the Roman magistracies to a much later time.

ζ Capitolinus in *Albino*, *Hist. Aug.* Sane ut tibi aliquod Imperialis majestatis accedat, habebis utendi coccinei pallii facultatem, habiturus et purpuram, sed sine auro.

his favour, and in command of the Roman forces in Britain, and tells him that in order to confer upon him something of imperial greatness, he gives him license to wear a scarlet mantle (*pallium coccineum*) even in the presence of the emperor, and to wear the purple, but without decorations of gold.

The higher magistrates, too, under the empire, as previously under the republic, wore, on state occasions, a *toga* bordered (*prætecta*) with purple. This was always the case when they presided at the public games; occasionally also, when taking part, officially, in public sacrifice.^η

It is worth noting that at Rome the *toga prætexta* (or *toga picta*), which, with the embroidered tunic (*tunica palmata*) worn beneath it, was reserved for these state occasions, was not the private property of the various magistrates on whom it devolved to wear it, but belonged to the State, and was laid up in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, or in the Palatium. The Emperor Gordian^ι was the first to make a change in this respect, and to provide himself, while yet a private citizen, with a *tunica palmata* and *toga picta* of his own.

Not to dwell further upon particulars of this kind, let us now further take note that as bright and brilliant colours*

^η See the Consular Diptychs photographed among the Illustrations of this volume. Plates XXII., XXIII.

^θ Thus, for instance, Appian (*Ἐμφύλια*, iii. *apud Ferrarium*) speaks of Asellius wearing, as prætor, *ἱσθάν καὶ ἐπὶ χρυσον ἱσθῆτα, ὡς θυσιᾷ περικείμενος*, a sacred vestment, adorned with gold, as being occupied in sacrifice. Compare the mention of that *ἱερὰ στολή* which was sent by Constantine to Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem, *infra*, p. 42.

^ι Capitolinus in Gordiano, *Hist. Aug.* p. 370. *Palmatam tunicam et togam pictam primus Romanorum privatus suam propriam habuit: cum ante Im-*

peratores etiam de Capitolio acciperent, vel de Palatio. The dresses kept in the Palatium would be those of the Pontifex Maximus, whose official residence was part of the "Palace of Augustus."

* I may notice here one exceptional association of idea with purple, that of having "a certain affinity with death," as Artemidorus (quoted in Appendix A) has noted. We may trace the same feeling in the use of purple (violet) as a colour of mourning in the Greek Church (See p. 174), and in court etiquette.

are such as naturally attract the eye and draw attention to those who wear them, garments of brilliant colour, *if not worn in official costume*, were regarded, not by Christians only, but in the ancient^λ world generally, as immodest and meretricious.

DRESS OF HEATHEN PRIESTHOOD.

Before we pass on further, it may be well to state, that while white garments were, as we have seen, regarded as specially appropriate to religious solemnity of all kinds, they were not in heathen notion regarded as the insignia of *the higher official priesthoods*.^μ Two reasons there were why this should not be. One, that where white dress was worn, or at least might be worn, *by all*, some distinctive dress was required, when the object was to mark out one or another as the possessor of any special hierarchical dignity. The other reason was this, that there were special consecrations of colour, so to speak, to particular divinities, either from natural or conventional associations, which made of these colours a kind of livery appropriate to such gods. When we find purple spoken of as specially characteristic of Priests of Dionysus^ν (or Bacchus), or of Mars, we can hardly doubt that in this there was thought had of the purple vine, or of the juice of the grape, in the one case, of the blood of the battle-field in the other. And so, too, in those many other instances in which purple is found associated with the dress of those honorary priesthoods, whether in Asia Minor, in Greece, or in Italy,

λ One passage may suffice in confirmation. Pliny, alluding to the dyes produced in Gaul [then as now proverbial for love of gay dress: cf. Martial, Epig. xiv. 129], speaks of them as furnishing *per quod facilius matrona adultero placeat, corruptor infidiatur*

nuptæ (Hist. Nat. xxii. cap. 11).

μ Evidence for the statements here following, concerning the costume of heathen priesthood, will be found in Appendix A. See No. 12, to 18.

ν See Appendix A, No. 15.

of which we find such frequent mention in antiquity.[§] In almost all of them the tunic of official costume had its stripes of purple; in almost all, the super-vestment, whatever its shape might be, was either bordered (*prætexta*) with rich ornament, or wholly made of purple, of scarlet, or of both combined. And here again the reason may probably be traced to the idea of setting forth authority,[¶] as of a royal priesthood, by the royal purple of official dress. The actual sacrificers, on the other hand, wore not those flowing vestments. Amid those fouler forms of heathenism which prevailed in many parts of the East, the nakedness of the priests was a natural accompaniment to rites of revolting grossness. But even in Italy and Greece the dress of the actual sacrificers was for obvious reasons a very scanty one. They were *nudi* (or *γυμνοί*) in the conventional^π sense of the word; at times, too, if we may judge by monuments, not in a conventional sense only. [See the figures of the sacrificing priests in Pl. III., and the central figure in Pl. VI.; and contrast with these the figure of the Greek ἄρχιερεὺς in Pl. VII.]

§ 3. ASSOCIATIONS OF COLOUR TO THE MIND OF CHRISTIANS OF THE PRIMITIVE TIME.

The various ideas above spoken of as associated generally

§ See Appendix A, No. 12 to 18.

¶ The Priests of whom I here speak were regarded in the later Republican Constitutions, both of Greece and Rome, as inheritors of that "royal Priesthood" which had formerly been vested in their kings. Hence the retention of the royal title, Ἀρχων Βασιλεὺς, *Rex Sacrificulus*, for religious ceremony, in cities where in any other connection the title of king would not have been endured.

π A man clad in a tunic only,

without super-vestment of any kind, was a sight common enough in the country; but in capital cities, and in important towns, for a man of position so to appear would have been thought as strange as it would be for one in like position now to walk down Regent Street in his shirt-sleeves. Hence the various meanings of the words *nudus* and *γυμνός*. It *may* mean (often does mean) "clad in tunic only;" it *may* mean (sometimes does mean) actually naked.

in men's minds with particular colours, or classes of colours, had come to be so associated, not from any singularity of fashion peculiar to any one age or country, but as the result of natural causes, and of the ordinary conditions of civilised society.

The use of those gay and brilliant colours, for example, of which we last spoke, is to be explained precisely in the same way, whether they were worn as decorations of official costume, for the greater dignity of a court, or to minister to vanity, or worse than vanity, by those who assumed them only for the sake of personal decoration. In all cases the effect at least was the same, that of attracting the eyes of men to him or to her who wore them, and of marking them out from others among whom they moved. And this effect was the more easily secured because the great costliness of those more brilliant colours was such, as to prevent their being adopted by any but a very few.

In going on now to consider the language of early Christian writers upon this subject of colour, we must bear in mind that they were influenced not only by those traditionary feelings which were common to the ancient world, but also by the language of Holy Scripture, by the usages of the Church of which they formed a part, and lastly by a natural repugnance to all that favoured of heathen forms of worship.

The witnesses of chief importance for this first period of four hundred years, are St. Clement of Alexandria,^e Tertullian, and St. Jerome.

The first of these, a native,^σ there is a reason to think, of Athens, but resident during the greater part of his life at Alexandria, had "visited the cities, and learnt to know the mind of many men." He had travelled in Magna Græcia,

^e Quoted in Appendix A, No. 36 to 43; Tertullian, *ibid.* No. 44 to 46; St. Jerome, *infra*, p. 34.

^σ The date of his birth is uncertain, but he died A.D. 220.

in Palestine, in Syria, in Egypt; and everywhere he had fought to the most learned of every land, that he might add to the stores of varied knowledge which he had acquired. And as a witness, therefore, for the feeling of primitive Christendom in a matter such as this, it would be difficult, nay, not possible, to find one better qualified than is he.

The book from which I quote is the *Παῖδαγωγός*, "The Divine Guide in the path of Christian Life." In the second and third books of that treatise he has frequently occasion to speak on the subject of dress, of personal ornament, and the like. And we find him giving expression again and again, and in the strongest manner, to precisely the same feelings in respect both of bright and brilliant colours, and of white, which we have already traced elsewhere, and adding thereto much that reminds at once of the new atmosphere of religious thought, which now at length we breathe.

For to St. Clement too, as to others to whom we have been listening, these dyed garments, coloured like unto flowers, form a fitting ^τ garb only for women that are without modesty, and men that are without manhood. In his eyes they favour of falsehood, and of treachery; they are proofs of a corrupted taste, they are signs of an evil disposition. But, on the other hand, white to him is the appropriate garb "for men of peaceful heart and inwardly illuminate." White he deems the colour befitting all solemnity and reverence; and he quotes with delight the "*excellent Plato*," "*herein as in other things a follower of Moses*," as one in opinion with himself upon this matter.

But it may be objected to the relevancy of all this, and of much else to the same effect which might be quoted, that he is speaking of these brilliant colours as worn in ordinary life, not of any such when consecrated to the service of the Christian sanctuary.

^τ For the expressions which follow, see Appendix A, Nos. 36 to 43.

Most true. It would not become me to say in reply that the reason of this silence is that he had never heard or dreamt of any such consecration. For this would be assuming the very point in dispute. But I will appeal to all my readers, let their prepossessions on this question be what they may, and I will ask whether on any other supposition it is possible to account for his using language such as this which follows. Had he known of vestments "coloured like unto flowers" being used in highest offices of Christian ministrations, could he possibly have said, as now we may hear him say, that together with the dealers in costly ointments and the preparers of incense, *the dyers of various wools should be banished one and all from the Commonwealth of Truth?* Could he in that case have said, as in fact he does, that "*these colours bright like flowers are fit only for the worshippers of Bacchus, for the mummeries of heathen mysticism, for the vanities of the stage?*" One only answer can be given to such a question, by any save those (to use St. Clement's own words) to whose imagination, as unto men mad, white and black are both alike.

I will not now detain my reader by further quotations, in proof of the feeling of the primitive age in respect of those varieties of colour of which alone we have spoken hitherto. Those who would pursue the subject further will find the means of doing so in the passages collected in the Appendix. At present I have only to point out, that in the moral scale of colours, as recognised at the time of which we speak, there was a middle point between the solemnity of a pure or brilliant white, and the luxurious extravagance of the more costly dyes. Sober colours there were, or, as commonly they were called, natural or native colours,^v which were recognised as fitted for the every-day garb of the sober-minded Christian

^v *Nativi colores*, ἰδιόχρῳ σίματα, are terms of frequent occurrence. Compare note δ, p. xviii.

man or woman.^φ Such sober colours we may see depicted in the series of plates (XVIII. to XXI.) from the Church of St. George at Thessalonica, among the illustrations of this volume. And with this hint to guide us, in addition to what has already been said in earlier pages of this Introduction, we shall have no difficulty, I think, in apprehending the general nature, at least, of the dress, which in the passage now following is described.

§ 4. THE DRESS OF CHRISTIAN MEN AND WOMEN WORSHIPPING IN THE ASSEMBLIES OF THE CHURCH.

It is St. Clement that speaks : —

“ The wife and the husband should take their way unto the church, in seemly apparel, with unaffected gait, and speech restrained; having love unfeigned; pure in body and pure in heart; fitly decked for prayer to God. And this further let the woman have: let her wholly cover her head, (unless perchance she be at home), for so dressed she will have respect, and be withdrawn from gazing eyes. And if thus with modesty, and with a veil, she covereth her own eyes, she shall neither be mislead herself, nor shall she draw others, by the exposure of her face, into the dangerous path of sin. For this willeth the Word; seeing that it is meet for the woman that she pray with covered head. . . . But then so as they, who are joined to Christ, adorn themselves, in a more solemn fashion, for assemblies of the church, even such should they ever be, even so be fashioned, all the days of their life. ‘ To be, not seem to be,’ let that be their watchword; gentle, reverend, full of holy love, at one time not less than at another.

φ “ As there is a dress,” says St. Clement, “ proper to soldiers, to sailors, to magistrates, so is there a garb befitting the sobriety of the Christian.”

“ But it is not so indeed. Somehow doth it come about, that, with change of place, they change both their habit and their manners ; even as the polypus is said to change each one his colour, to the semblance of the rock whereby he dwells.”
[*Pædag.* lib. iii. p. 300.]



From a Syriac MS. of the year 586 A.D.

CHAPTER IV.

DIRECT EVIDENCE AS TO THE DRESS OF CHRISTIAN MINISTRY
DURING THE FOUR FIRST CENTURIES.

IN the two last Chapters sufficient has been said to enable the reader to appreciate, at their true value, the facts which will present themselves, now that we enter upon the consideration of the direct evidence applicable to the question before us.

That evidence naturally divides itself under two heads; and of these we may first consider that afforded by the earliest monuments of Christian art.

I will ask the reader to refer to the series of Plates numbered XIV., XV., and XVII., among the illustrations of this volume, and to bring to bear upon their interpretation those general distinctions, as to form and colour, with which we have been hitherto occupied. He will see, I think, at once, that the dress there portrayed is one, which, in those earliest ages now in question, would be suggestive to the mind by its form of occasions of especial solemnity, and by its colour of a garb suited, as none else could be, to such as should minister before God in the courts of His house.

Of those Plates, the two first are representative (the first, probably, and without doubt the second) of our Lord seated on a central Throne, with His Apostles on either hand, seated, or standing, about Him. In another very similar fresco ^z to these, the twelve Apostles, seated on secondary *θρόνοι*, or apostolic

^z Given by Perret in his great work on the *Catacombs*, vol. iii. Pl. xxxv.

thrones, on either side of our Lord (nearly as in Pl. XIV.), realise exactly one of the pictures of the heavenly kingdom set forth to us by our Lord Himself; a kingdom which is upon earth, though not "of" † the earth, wherein He, our Lord, sitteth upon His "throne of glory," while to the twelve, by delegation from their Lord, it is given to sit upon twelve thrones, judging (*i.e.* ruling) ^ω the twelve tribes of the spiritual Israel.

And this type of Apostolic dress, I may observe in passing, is preserved by the traditions of the Church, and especially appropriated to the Twelve, throughout almost all the later centuries of Christian art.^α

For our present purpose, however, it is yet more important to note, that in the earliest Christian representation of any of the more solemn acts of religion by bishops, priests, or deacons (I refer to Pl. XVII.), the dress attributed to them is, as might have been expected on *à priori* grounds, almost an exact counterpart of that which we have already seen attributed to the Apostles.

In few words, one who examined those early monuments of the primitive age, with a competent knowledge of the habits, and the associations of colour, characteristic of that time, would come to the conclusion that the dress he there saw was exactly such as we have pointed to in the three preceding Chapters. He would see there a garb which thus far differed from the dress ordinarily worn, that by its form and colour it would at once suggest the solemn office of them who wore it, whether as drawing near on behalf of God's people unto God, or as His servants and messengers delivering to His people the messages of the Divine word, and the sacraments of His Divine grace.

† *ix* expressing origin. See *Eire-*
nica, p. 75, note 14.

in *Eirenica*, pp. 186, 187.

^α See Plates XIX., XLV.

^ω Matt. xix. 28, commented on

And now we have only to turn, in the second place, to the second source of available evidence which is open to us, and we shall find the strongest confirmation of the conclusions just stated. The contemporary references to any dress of actual ministry in the Church, are, in the first four centuries, very few. But what there are, point all (or almost all*) to the same conclusion. In the second part of this treatise will be found all the chief passages from early writers that can be brought to bear upon this question. And among these there are some to which, as containing a direct reference to the subject now before us, I will now ask more particular attention.

The first occurs in the Commentary β of St. Jerome on Ezekiel, cap. xlv. His subject there had led him to speak of the dress worn by "Egyptian priests, not only within their temples, but without also." He then adds (see note 53, p. 31), *Porro religio divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitæque communi*. "Moreover that worship which is of God has one habit in (holy) ministry, another for the usage of common life." In a note on that passage (note 53) I have pointed out, that the primary reference at least of these words is (as context shows) to Jewish rather than to Christian observances. But a comparison with other passages of the same author will justify the belief expressed in the note to which I allude, viz. that St. Jerome has purposely here chosen a very inclusive term, "*religio divina*," as having in his mind the usages of the Church in his own time, as well as those of the Jewish priesthood in times past. I should not myself rest any weight upon a passage of such doubtful reference. But as writers on ritual habitually quote this passage (and generally without any reference to its context), it may be well to point out that *the utmost* the passage will prove is this, that there was a difference of some kind between the habit worn in ordinary life, and that which was recognised as proper

* See Appendix B.

β See Part II., p. 28, *seqq.*

to services of holy ministry. And this I for one should regard as so self-evident (I might almost say) as to require no proof from isolated passages such as this.

A difference there was beyond all doubt, but in what did that difference consist?

Another passage in the same commentary will advance us yet one further step, and a somewhat more secure one, in replying to this question. At p. 30 (see also note 51) will be found a somewhat clearer intimation of what St. Jerome thought to be the "*habitus religionis*." Having to speak of the holy vestments worn by the Levitical priests, and which they were required to put off before leaving the sanctuary, he adds, "*By all which we learn, that we too ought not to enter into the most holy place in our everyday garments, just such as we will, when they have been defiled from the usage of ordinary life; but with a clean conscience, and in clean garments (mundis vestibus) hold in our hands the sacraments of the Lord.*"

The word *mundus*,^γ which he here employs as the characteristic epithet for the dress of Christian ministry, is one which to no dress could more fitly be applied, than to one white, bright, and of stately solemnity, such as that which is presented to us in the Plates to which I have referred. And if any doubt still remain as to what was the colour, which in St. Jerome's time (the close of the fourth century) was thought proper to the highest offices of Christian ministry, that doubt will be removed by yet a third passage (see p. 57, Part II.), in which, when defending the usages of the Church against the strictures of Pelagius, he asks, what offence there would be against God if "*in the administration of the holy things (sacramentorum) bishop, presbyter, and deacons, and other officers of the Church (reliquus ecclesiasticus ordo) should come forward dressed in white garments.*"

^γ On the meaning of *mundus* see note 57, p. 34.

Before we quit this subject of colour it may be proper to notice an argument by which some among ourselves have sought to found a claim to antiquity for the “splendid” vestments now worn in the Roman Church. Unable to resist the force of evidence which they found absolutely inconsistent with the idea of the primitive dress of Christian ministry having been modelled upon that of the Levitical priesthood, they yet contend for “splendid” dresses, brilliant in colour, having been worn as Eucharistic vestments even in primitive times. The two passages to which they refer are a “rubric,” (so to call it) in the Liturgy appended to the “Apostolical Constitutions,” and one which speaks of Constantine the Great having sent a “sacred vestment” (*ἱερὰν στολὴν*) made of gold tissue, to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem. As for this last piece of evidence the reader has only to refer to the original passage (p. 42) in which this story is first told, to see that it proves nothing about Eucharistic vestments at all, for Constantine sent it to be worn in the administering of holy baptism. He will find too that the successor of Macarius, Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem, sold ^δ this vestment not very long after, and that it passed into the hands of a stage-dancer. The truth is, that this custom of emperors distributing splendid garments, as marks of honour, had now become common in the West, as it long continued to be; and Constantine, with his half-heathen, half-Christian notions about religion, may not improbably have sent to Macarius one of the *ἱεραὶ στολαὶ* which had been laid up (as was the custom of the times) in some Roman temple, for the use on festal days, of Flamen, of Pontiff, or of Augur. If so, I may add, it was probably taken from his own *Vestiarium Pontificium*, from the store

^δ Nicephorus, the Byzantine historian, alluding to this story many centuries later, says that some supposed that Bishop Cyril sold it in time of famine in order to feed the poor.

But he adds, that it is difficult to suppose this could have been, else why was not this defence offered at the time in excuse to the emperor?

of splendid vestments reserved for the emperor's use in his character of *Pontifex Maximus*.

The other passage referred to deserves particular notice, were it only as affording a notable proof of the little weight to be attached to isolated phrases of ancient authors, quoted, as they often are, in English, without reference to the original language, or to the context in which they occur; or, as in this case, of passages from Liturgies, the framework of which may be very ancient, but which have been largely interpolated from time to time, as, on the most conclusive evidence it is evident that they have been.

In the instance before us, a rubrical direction is quoted from the Liturgy of St. Clement, prescribing that the priest should commence his office λαμπράν ἐσθῆτα μετενδύς. This expression proves, as it is argued, that *splendid* garments were in use for Christian ministry from an early period of the third century, to which this Liturgy may not improbably be assigned.

The simple answer is this. First as regards the authority quoted, it is for the most part impossible to determine whether any particular passage in any of the Liturgies, *as they now come into our hands*, is a portion of the original Liturgy or not. We know, both by direct testimony,[§] and by internal evidence, that even those Liturgies whose framework is really ancient, have been largely added to from time to time; and that the rubrical directions more particularly are in almost all cases

§ There is a remarkable passage in Walafrid Strabo bearing upon this point and worthy of especial attention (*De Rebus Eccl.*). After describing the great simplicity with which in primitive times mass was celebrated, he goes on to say that as time went on, *multi apud Græcos et Latinos missæ ordinem, ut sibi visum est, statuerunt.*

The Romans, he says, having received their "Use" from St. Peter, *suis quique temporibus, quæ congrua judicata sunt addiderunt.* On the endless variation in the various MSS. of the Greek Liturgies, and the uncertainties of the Rubrics, see the Introduction to Goar's *Euchologium Græcorum*.

of comparatively recent date. Therefore, even if the meaning of the Rubric here quoted really were what those who quote it suppose, nothing would really be proved as to the usage of the Church at the time (possibly the third century) in which, *in its earliest form*, the Liturgy was originally composed.

But, secondly, in point of fact, the meaning of the passage (whether genuine or not) is *exactly the reverse* of what an uncritical reader might suppose. For the word λαμπρός, which means literally "shining" (λάμπειν), is the word habitually usedⁿ in the later Greek writers in speaking of a "shining" or glistening white; corresponding to the Latin *candidus*. And this disposes of the only plausible objection which, as far as I know, has been made to the conclusion already stated.

On a review, then, of the whole evidence from early literature bearing upon this question, we should conclude, without doubt, that the dress appropriate to the most solemn offices of holy ministry, during the primitive age, was white.

And if we turn next to the monumental evidence, whether in the frescoes of the Roman Catacombs,^o or in the mosaics of early churches at Rome,^p Ravenna,^q Constantinople,^r we shall find that it confirms in the strongest manner the conclusion, which by a separate path we shall have already reached.

And lastly, I may add, that the traditions of the Church, both in literature and in art, for nearly a thousand years after the primitive period with which we are now occupied, bear witness incidentally to the same conclusion. Again and again,^s even in mediæval writers, do we find recognition of

ⁿ See note 19, p. 9. And to the passages there referred to, add No. 3, p. 176 in Appendix A, and note τ, p. xiii.

^o See Plates XI., XII., XIV., XV., XVII.

^p See Plate XXIX.

^q See Plate XXVIII.

^r See Weis, fig. 65 (Tracht und Geräth u. s. w.), p. 125. And with this compare the figure of St. James given in Pl. LXIII.

^s See, for example, Hugo à S. Victore, quoted p. 131; and Symeon of Thessalonica, quoted p. 171, l. 8.

white vestments as being the *proper* garb of Christian ministry. And in the later^v art monuments exhibited in this volume, it will be seen, that the dress attributed to the Apostles in the frescoes of the Roman Catacombs, and in early monuments of the East, is reproduced century after century as their special characteristic, long after the general type of ministering dress had been altogether changed.

On every ground, then, we may accept without hesitation a conclusion, in which all the best authorities on the subject are agreed; and hold that white was the colour appropriated in primitive times to the dress of Christian ministry.

^v See, for example, Pl. XXXVIII., XLV.



From a Syriac MS. of the year 586 A.D.

CHAPTER V.

ORNAMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE DRESS OF CHRISTIAN
MINISTRY.

OF OFFICIAL INSIGNIA GENERALLY.

THE points of chief importance concerning the primitive dress of holy ministration have been examined in the preceding chapters. But there are still some minor particulars which it seems desirable here to notice, with a view to the fuller understanding of the art monuments of antiquity, and of allusions which frequently are made in the pages of old writers.

§ I. ORNAMENT OF PRIMITIVE VESTMENTS.

And, first, a few words must be said concerning the peculiar ornament which may be seen in almost all the more ancient representations of dress figured in this volume.

A special interest attaches to this ornament, owing to the fact that in appearance and in colour (though not in name), it presents an almost exact resemblance to the scarf or stole now customarily worn in the English Church.

On the walls[§] of Roman Catacombs, and in the mosaics of early churches at Rome,^o Ravenna, and elsewhere, the long^π

§ See Plates XI., XII., XIV., XV., XVI., XVII.

o See Plates XXVIII., and for Ravenna, see Plate XXIX.

π Occasionally also the short tunic, when for special reasons this is assigned, exceptionally, to dignified persons.

See, for example, the figures of the Magi in the woodcut at p. vi. Regarded as just arriving from a journey, they have a short tunic (*itineri habilis*, see note 203, p. 105) assigned to them. But this ornament is added as an indication of dignity.

tunic of more solemn dress is almost invariably represented with the addition of an ornamental stripe, extending from between the neck and shoulders, on either side, to the lower edge of the tunic. In some cases similar stripes are represented running round the lower extremity of the sleeve. [Pl. V. and XXVIII.]

Similar ornaments are to be seen in other representations of Roman dress, as, for example, in some of the illustrations of the Vatican Virgil, dating from the fourth century.

But this ornament is by no means peculiar to the costume of Rome. We find on the walls of the Catacombs, not only our Lord and His Apostles, but Abraham, Moses, the "Three Children," and other Easterns, wearing a tunic so ornamented. But from this, if this were all, we could not infer more with certainty, than that the Christian painters of the second, third, or fourth centuries, to whom those frescoes are to be traced, believed this ornament to be common in the East as it was among themselves. But, in point of fact, we have abundant evidence, both in literature and in art, which proves that they were right in so thinking. The ornamental tunics of heathen priesthood, for example, in the Tyrian colonies, and in Tyre itself, were distinguished, as we have seen, by stripes of purple. And the seventy translators in their rendering of Isaiah, iii. 21, speak of garments which are striped (*μεσοπόρφυρα*) and bordered (*περιπόρφυρα*) with purple. And the stripes of purple there spoken of differed only in colour and material, but not in form, from the simple ornament commonly worn on the full-dress tunic of ordinary^g people.

So common, indeed, is this particular kind of ornament

^g Compare the comment of St. Basil, tom. i. p. 661, D. Τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐσθῇ κόσμον τῶν καλλωπιζομένων γυναι-

κῶν ὡς περιέργον διαβάλλει, πορφύραν πότε μὲν κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα παρυφαινόταν, πότε δὲ κατὰ τὸ μέσον αὐτὴν ἐντιθένταν.

in early monuments, both in the East^σ and in the West, that I cannot but suppose it to have originated in some simple cause, incident to the prevailing form of the garment now in question. It may be conjectured that in joining together the various "breadths," of linen or woollen stuff, out of which the tunic was to be made, a seam was made from between the neck and shoulders on either side down to the lower edge; and that these ornamental stripes were so sewn on as to hide (compare p. 3, l. 27) what would otherwise have been unsightly, and yet admit of being easily removed when the tunic itself needed washing.

What has been said hitherto points onward to a further point of interest concerning the ecclesiastical dress of the primitive age. We know that various grades of rank were distinguished at Rome, from very early times, by the colour and by the relative width of the ornamental stripes worn upon the tunic by senators, and by knights. Whether two such were worn, stole-wise, or one only, is uncertain. But, however, this may be, the broad *clavus* was the distinctive mark of a senator; the narrow *clavus* of a knight. And it is wholly in accordance with this, that in one of the monuments figured in this volume (see Plate XIV), the black *lora* (or "*clavi*") on the *tunica talaris*, worn by our Lord, are considerably larger than those worn by the six persons (probably Apostles) in the midst of whom He is seated.

Facts such as these would lead us antecedently to expect, that distinctions between the higher and the lower offices of

^σ A remarkable example may be seen in a very ancient fresco in a rock-church at Urgub, in Mesopotamia. See Texier, B.A., Pl. V. One of the principal figures (representing, probably, one of the Old Testament prophets) seen approaching with reverence to the Holy Child before him, is dressed

in a white tunic under an outer garment of reddish brown. And this white tunic (σχιζέσιον, it would probably be called by those who originally drew it) has narrow black stripes by way of ornament, which exactly correspond with the *lora*, or ornamental stripes, of the Roman Dalmatic.

the Christian ministry might probably be indicated, in early times, by means of these ornamental stripes.^τ The history of the “dalmatic,” which was just such an ornamented tunic as that now described, strongly confirms the probability that this was really the case; and of this we shall shortly have occasion to speak more at length.

For the present it is only necessary to add, that these ornamental stripes vary in colour, according to the colour of the dress upon which they are worn. But in all the examples of *white* dress, worn by Apostles or by ecclesiastics, belonging to the first 600 years of Christian history, these stripes, as far as I have observed, are invariably black.

But it was not only by these ornaments on the tunic that difference of official rank could be indicated. We have abundant evidence to show, that, at Rome, almost every modification of the ordinary dress had a certain well-understood significance in the eyes of men. The unusual fulness, or the scant dimensions, of *toga* or of *pallium*, were as significant then, as is the long graceful train that sweeps the ground now worn by ladies of fashion, when contrasted with the shorter, simpler dress of those who, from motives of economy, or for any other reason, study convenience and comfort rather than stately beauty and grace. And as with the outer garment (whether *toga* or *pallium*), so with the tunic also. Nay, so minute and rigorous was the etiquette of dress at Rome under the Empire, that people of any position varied the kind of shoes which they wore, according to the nature of the upper garment in which they might be clad. And we shall find, when we come to examine the later monuments bearing upon the subject here under discussion, that distinctions such as these, familiar to Romans and to Greeks under the imperial

^τ As among ourselves, for example, the right of wearing a “scarf” is given, in the Canons, to such as are members of Cathedral bodies, and to the chaplains of noblemen.

system, were reproduced from time to time in the regulations made for the ministering drefs of the Church.

§ 2. OFFICIAL INSIGNIA.

But distinctions of drefs, minute and varied though they may be, are, for the most part, not sufficient of themselves to serve as expressions for all those diversities of rank and office, which are characteristic of highly civilised states. Therefore is it that in such states the custom has at all times obtained, of marking out, by conventional symbols, both grades of relative dignity, and varieties of official occupation. Of these conventional symbols, two classes may be particularly noticed: those which are worn upon the head, symbols mostly of *authority*; and those borne in the hand, symbols, for the most part, of special departments of activity.

Ornaments, first, of the head. To the head, the crown and apex of the human form, itself the noblest and most god-like of all created things,—to the head, which with a nod, or with a glance, or with an uttered word, can give expression to the Sovereign Will which therein sits enthroned,—to this, by a natural instinct, men have ever assigned the symbols of power to rule, whether with a supreme and all-embracing rule, as did great kings, or in special departments of delegated authority, as did others in their name.

But the hand, also, the organ and instrument of that sovereign will, furnishes significant expression, by appropriate symbols, of the various fields of special activity in which the powers of man find exercise. The sceptre of the king, the lituus of the augur, the written scroll of philosopher or man

v It is not an easy matter to determine what was the *original* association of idea in consequence of which the word *σκῆπτρον*, for example, superadded to its primitive meaning of a “staff,” or stout stick, that of “sceptre” or symbol of royalty, actual or delegated. In what we read in the Iliad of such a

of law, the instruments of sacrifice of the heathen priest, the pastoral staff of Christian bishop, or the book of the Gospels held in his hand, these, and other such, are significant, each of some special department of official ministrations, to which prominence is given by the mere fact of such symbolic representation.

We may apply these general principles to the subject immediately before us. In Egyptian monuments we find the symbols of priesthood to be either such as could be worn upon the head, a high cap or mitre, indicative of authority; or such as could be carried in the hand. And these last, again, are of two kinds: instruments of sacrifice, marking them out as sacrificers; or *a roll of papyrus inscribed with hieroglyphics*, indicative of their office as keepers and expounders of divine knowledge. And at an interval of some two thousand years, we find the same symbolic language employed in Christian art. On the walls of the Catacombs the Divine power of our Lord is symbolised by "the rod of power" which He holds, when working miracles; His office as "The Word," the revealer of Divine truth to man, by the inscribed scroll which He holds, or by the two open *capsæ* on His right hand and on His left, filled each with written scrolls, and representative, we cannot doubt, of the Old and New Testament [Pl. XII.]. And, lastly, His own revelation of Himself as the true Manna, as the Bread of Life, as one whose Body offered on the Cross, and whose Blood thereon outpoured, are the food of them that hunger, and the refreshment of them that thirst: this, too, is set forth again and again in the seven baskets filled with

σκήπτρον being laid, and that with a heavy hand, upon the shoulders of Therapists, we have, if I mistake not, an indication of the original use from which this "staff" was derived. In the rude assemblies wherein a warrior chief gathered about him his armed

followers for council of battle or, in time of peace for judgment of wrong done, the "right of the staff" would be frequently exercised, both for the maintenance of order, and for the punishment of offenders.

bread which He hath blessed and broken ; in loaves, marked with a cross, which He bears in His own bosom.

But that which now more specially concerns us is the question of the Insignia, with which, in early Christian monuments, either the Apostles themselves, or their successors in offices of Christian ministry, were invested. One ϕ such monument there is, and one only I believe, in which the Apostles are represented as wearing a peaked cap, such as in ancient times was known as a $\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\rho\alpha$ (see note 84, p. 52). This representation would serve to indicate the “royal priesthood” with which the Lord had invested them. And thus the monument, of which I now speak, offers an exact parallel to one or two exceptional passages in ancient authors, in which this same idea is either alluded \propto to, or (as by Epiphanius) ψ expressly stated.

A similar suggestion of power *to rule*, committed to the Twelve, under Christ, and by delegation from Him, is set forth by the apostolic thrones on which they are sometimes represented as seated. [See Frontispiece, and compare note \propto , p. xxviii.]

With these exceptions (the first of which appears to have been unobserved hitherto by writers on ritual), the insignia of Apostles, in the early monuments of Christian art, are such, as mark them out as the deliverers of a Divine message, of the “Word of God,” to man. This their office is indicated by the “scroll” \dagger held in their hand, a “*volumen*” (note 79, p. 50) in the original sense of the word. At times, however, we find in place of this scroll a “martyr’s crown,” or chaplet, held in the hand. Thus, in a remarkable monument, of which

ϕ Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* tom. i. Pl. LXX.

\propto See the letter of Bishop Polycrates, quoted at p. 38, and compare note 62. And see further, on this side of the question, the passage re-

ferred to in Appendix B.

ψ See the passage quoted at p. 40, and refer to note 65.

\dagger See Pl. XII., XIII., XXIX., and the figure of St. Peter, Pl. XLV.

there is a drawing in the collection at Windsor, our Lord is represented between St. Paul (at His right hand) and St. Peter (on the left); and while St. Paul holds the scroll of an apostle, St. Peter holds in his hands the chaplet (*corona*) which designates his martyrdom.

The special designations by which particular Apostles were indicated (as still they are) in the later and more developed symbolism of Christian art, are not met with in the primitive period with which we are now concerned.

Passing on now from the Apostles themselves to the various orders of the Christian ministry, we find that a chair † of state (*sedes* or καθέδρα), or “episcopal throne,” serves to mark the authority to rule committed to a bishop; while his office as a teacher of Divine truth is indicated by the Book of the Gospels, which he holds in his left hand. From a passage of great interest in a sermon attributed to St. Chrysostom (see note 89, p. 53), we learn that at the consecration of bishops, the book of the Gospels was laid upon their heads, as being “the true evangelical tiara,” and as a sign to the bishop himself, that “*though he be head of all, yet doth he act in subjection to God’s laws; though he be ruler of all, yet is he too under rule to the law; though in all things a setter forth of the Word, yet is he himself, to that Word, in subjection.*”

The pastoral staff is first mentioned as one of the distinctive insignia^a of a bishop, in the acts of the Fourth

† See Pl. XVII., and for full details see Martigny D. A. C. *in voc.* Chaire.

ω τῶν ἱερέων is the expression used. But context shows that by ἱερεὺς here, as after in early writers, is meant a bishop. Compare note 90, p. 54, and see Index *in voc.*

^a The various insignia above mentioned (the “staff” only excepted) may be seen in the Frontispiece to this

volume (a diptych of St. Paul), and in Pl. XI. (the “virga” or rod of power), XV., XVII. (the “throne” there represented, as in Aringhi, is, I should think, incorrectly drawn), XXIX. (the earliest example, as far as I know, of a “crozier,” is there seen), XXX., XXXI. Later examples of such insignia may be seen in almost all later Plates published in this volume.

Council of Toledo (see *infra*, p. 75). But it does not appear to have been found in monuments of Christian art till the tenth century. Its symbolism is well set forth in a passage of Honorius, quoted later in this volume (p. 140). And whatever be the date of its first use as one of the distinctive insignia of a bishop, it serves, more fully and expressively perhaps than any other such symbol, to set forth that pastoral aspect of the ministerial office, which at all times, and in all places, has constituted its surest passport to the hearts and affections of God's people.



From a Syriac MS. of the year 586 A.D.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD FROM 400 TO 800 A.D.

WE enter now upon the second of the three periods, into which, for the purposes of this inquiry, the history of the Christian Church has been divided. This, and the succeeding period, may be treated much more briefly than the first, in which I have been obliged to occupy what is in some measure new ground,—new, at least, in connexion with the question, with which, in these pages, we are occupied.

At the very outset of this second period two facts arrest our attention, as having had a momentous influence on the history of the Church generally. And this influence may be traced, as in other particulars of far more intrinsic importance, so also in this of ecclesiastical dress with which here we are more especially concerned.

The two facts of which I speak are, the dualization of the Roman empire, somewhat earlier in date, but to be traced in its effects throughout this period; and the first outburst, in the year 408, of that great flood of barbarian invasion, whose successive waves spread, with overwhelming force, over the face of Southern Europe. Goths, Vandals, Lombards, a “triple wave of woe,” poured down in succession, from the North, upon the rich land which lay open, and almost undefended, to their attacks; and the older Roman civilisation was all but destroyed,—would have been destroyed

altogether, had not the spiritual force, that was in the Church, proved a more effectual safeguard, than the degenerate valour of the imperial armies.

The first of the two events above mentioned requires special notice in this place, because the establishment of the imperial system in the "new Rome" of the Bosphorus, serves to account for the development of both civil and ecclesiastical dress, in nearly parallel lines, at Constantinople and at Rome, during the period of 400 years with which we now are occupied. Let the reader examine the two monuments of consular costume, one of the East, the other of the West, among the illustrations of this volume (Plates XXII. and XXIII.), and he will see at a glance, that not the official titles only, but the costume and insignia of the older Rome of the Seven Hills, had been transferred, before the date of those monuments, to the New Rome of the Bosphorus. And at Constantinople, not less than at Rome, modifications were brought about, during this transition period, in the dress of Christian ministry, owing to the application to ecclesiastical use of peculiarities of costume and of insignia, which were of the Empire, before they were of the Church.

And now, for reasons already indicated, we will confine our attention, for the present at least, to the churches of the West. And we shall have no difficulty in seeing how the political circumstances of those times were outwardly reflected, on the one hand, in the revolution effected in the general costume of civil life, and, on the other, in the spirit of conservatism, which maintained, in official costume at Rome, and in the ministering habits of the Church generally, that type of dress, characteristic of the older Roman civilisation, of which we have already treated at length in the earlier chapters of this Introduction.

A complete change was brought about, this first we have to note, in the ordinary costume of civil life. The type of

dress by which the invaders from the north were distinguished, differed widely from that older Roman habit (Eastern in its character), of which we spoke in the earlier chapters of this Introduction. The new dress was a dress for soldiers (a *sagum*, or short mantle, its prevailing form, worn over a short tunic like a Highland kilt); the old dress, as we have seen (note ε, p. ix.) a dress of citizens. The contrast between the new and the old type of dress may be seen at a glance, on comparing the dress of the Emperor Charlemagne in Pl. XXXIII. with that of the Emperor Justinian (which is of the older type with Byzantine additions) in Pl. XXVIII. And in a less exalted rank, we may compare the figure of the layman, in Pl. XXXVII., and that of Beno de Rapiza (somewhat later in date), in Pl. XLIII., with those of the courtiers in attendance on Justinian in the S. Vitale mosaic already referred to; with that of Gordianus (a senator), in Pl. XXV., or with those of the several laymen represented in the mosaics of the Church of St. George in Thessalonica (Pl. XVIII. to XXI.).

The contrast between these two types of dress was matter of observation at the time; and adhering to the "old ways" was regarded as a mark of orthodoxy. That this was the case as late as the close of the sixth century, we have the evidence of the biographer (a very well-informed one) of St. Gregory the Great. Speaking of the household of the good bishop, whose life he writes, he says, "That not one among them, from the least to the greatest, had any taint of 'barbarism' (using the word in its Latin sense) either in speech or in dress; but the *toga* or the *trabea*, of old Latin usage, maintained distinctly the old Latin spirit, in that palace to which Latium had given a name."^β

^β Joan. Diac. Vita S. Gregorii, lib. ii. cap. 13. "Nullus Pontifici famulantium a minimo usque ad maximum barbarum quodlibet in sermone

vel habitu præferebat; sed togata Quiritium more vel trabeata Latinitas suum Latinum (Latium?) in ipso Latiali palatio singulariter obtinebat."

A passage such as this, even if it stood alone, would prepare us, after the facts that have already been considered, to find that even as late as St. Gregory's time the old types of drefs were still maintained, with little change, at Rome itself, however much they might be modified where the new influences were predominant. And in distinctly ecclesiastical drefs, we find, accordingly, that, in some of the Roman monuments of that period, scarcely any difference is to be detected between the representations dating from that time, and those which we meet with in the "Ciclo Biblico" of the earlier Roman Catacombs. In the mosaic of the Church of St. Lorenzo (Pl. XXIX.), dating from just before the pontificate of St. Gregory, not only the Apostles, but the then Bishop of Rome, Pelagius, have the same white vestments, with black *lora*, which we have already seen in earlier monuments (Pl. XIV. and XV.). And if Anastasius is to be understood literally when he says, that Pelagius II. "made" (*fecit*) the Cemetery of St. Hermes, it must follow that the remarkable fresco represented in Pl. XVII. cannot be of earlier date than about the close of the sixth century.

I speak advisedly of "distinctly ecclesiastical drefs," because we have to remember that the Bishops of Rome, from the close of the fourth century, occupied a great civil position also in the state. Their civil power was indeed wholly anomalous and undefined, and in theory subordinate to that of the *Præfectus Urbis*, Representative of the Emperor; but it was often very real, at a time when the titular magistracies were for the most part names and nothing more. And this will account for a phenomenon, so strange at first thought, as that of Christian bishops assuming, as insignia of their office, decorations derived from the civil magistracies of the old Roman republic. These magistracies were preserved first, under the Imperial system, as honorary distinctions, conferred by the emperor; and their insignia, at a later period still, were

imitated in ecclesiastical use at Rome and Constantinople, and thence spread to other churches.

A most remarkable evidence of the close connection, to Roman ideas, between the dress of high civil magistracy and that of their own chief bishop, is to be found in the monument represented in Pl. XXIV., in which St. Gregory the Great is represented with nearly the same dress and insignia as would have been his had he been "Consul" under the empire, instead of "Præsul,"^δ in the Church. And the close resemblance between the dignified dress of a senator, and that of a bishop of the Church, is well indicated in the plate^ε immediately following (Pl. XXV.), in which, but for the Papal *pallium*, and the Book of the Gospels, carried (as one of the *insignia* of a bishop) in the left hand, it would be impossible (as Cardinal Baronius remarked long ago) to distinguish which were the senator, and which the bishop.

LITERARY MONUMENTS.

Turning now from these art-monuments to the contemporary^ε notices of ecclesiastical dress, to be met with in ancient literature, it may be well here to point out one or two

γ To this, as regards Rome, Thomassinus bears testimony. *De Ben.* tom. ii. p. 327. "Constat ab ecclesia maxime Romana cæteras identidem varia extorsisse privilegia, ut cum ipsis magnificentiora quædam divini cultus indumenta communicarentur. Antiquissimas enim et pretiosissimas has vestes et frequentius usurpaverat, et retinuerat constantius, urbs Imperii totius regina. Imperatoriæ etiam in veste et ornatu magnificentiæ copia major facta fuerat Ecclesiæ Romanæ.

Ab ea ergo effundebantur hi veluti pompæ gloriæque sacerdotalis rivuli in reliquum Christianum orbem."

δ This is a title frequently given to the Bishops of Rome in the earlier Roman documents.

ε The passages of chief importance are given in the later part of this work, pp. 42 to 87. Others will be found quoted in the chapter next following, in which the vestments in use at this period are separately noticed.

features which are common to all, and which it is important to note for the better understanding of the present question.

It will be found that passages quoted from writers of this period have reference, either to the vestments of Levitical ² priesthood, or to the dress and insignia which were regarded as proper to bishops, priests, deacons, or others holding offices of ministry in the Church. And as regards the first of these two classes, those in which the Levitical vestments are described or referred to, a marked distinction will be observed between the writers of this period and those of the succeeding centuries. If St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom (or the writer ⁿ who bears his name), if St. Gregory, or Venerable Bede, describe in detail the Levitical vestments, they do so without giving the slightest intimation that the vestments of Christian ministry corresponded in number, in form, and colour, or in name, with those of the older priesthood. Oftentimes, on the contrary, the language they employ shows, that they recognised the marked contrast between the two [Notes 94, 96, 101, 139]. But in the later writers, from the beginning of the ninth century [Notes 169, 170], we find, on the contrary, that the Levitical vestments are ever mentioned as the prototypes, to which those of Christian priesthood may be referred, and the names proper to the one are transferred, often upon the most imaginary grounds, to those which were then in use for offices of Christian ministry [Note 253].

But the class of passages, of which I have now been speaking, affords only negative and indirect evidence upon the

² See Nos. XII., XVI., XVII., XVIII., XIX., XX., XXVI., XXVII., XXIX. With these should be included the passages from St. Jerome (pp. 10 to 35). For these, though they precede by a few years the close of the fourth century, are the sources to which, directly or indirectly, all

the writers in the Western Church are mainly indebted for their knowledge on the subject of the Levitical vestments. For apparent exceptions to the general statements of the text, see Appendix B.

ⁿ See note 80, p. 51.

history of the vestments of the Church. Of more direct interest are the passages, in which these last are enumerated and described. And among these, in regard of the West, I may here mention, as of chief interest and importance, the extracts (No. XXV., p. 68, *sqq.*) from St. Isidore of Seville, and from the Acts (No. XXVIII., p. 75) of the Fourth Council of Toledo held under his presidency. For Eastern usage, some seventy years later, we have as a guide the description, given by St. Germanus of Constantinople (No. XXX., p. 82, *sqq.*), of the vestments recognised in the East at the time he wrote. Of these we shall have to speak in detail, in the following chapter.

But before proceeding further, I may mention two passages as having a special interest for English readers. I refer to the extracts from the *De Tabernaculo* of Venerable Bede (p. 78, *sqq.*), and to the nearly contemporary letter of St. Boniface (Winifrid of Crediton) to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, quoted in note 209, p. 106.

Both of these passages date from an early period of the eighth century. And both show, though in different ways, what was the feeling of those times in respect of the questions now under discussion. We see, on the one hand, a man wise and learned, and of the greatest piety, such as Bede, still regarding the Levitical vestments in the same light precisely as had all the earlier Fathers. "The outward splendour," so he writes,^θ "which, in the former times, shone brightly in ornamented vestments, is now to be spiritually understood; inwardly conspicuous in the hearts of Christian priests, and outwardly so also in their activity in all good works." And it is matter of interest to observe from what source he derived his thought, viz. *from the service then in use for the consecration of bishops*. In a very ancient MS. of the *Liber Sacramentorum* of St. Gregory the Great, edited by the

^θ See note 135, p. 78, and Appendix B.

learned Benedictine Hugo Menardus, the same thought is expressed nearly in the same words.⁴ And with this again agrees the description given of St. Germanus of Paris by Fortunatus (writing in the sixth century):—

Senfim incedit velut alter Aaron,
Non de veste nitens, sed pietate placens.
Non lapides, coccus, clarum aurum, purpura, byssus,
Exornant humeros, sed micat alma Fides.

The other passage, that from St. Boniface, “the apostle of Germany,” presents great difficulties, the solution of which, I own, I cannot as yet see. For the expressions that he uses indicate, on the one hand, that the “vestimenta” which he so strongly condemns were in some way connected with *superstitious** use (so at least he deemed it); that they were of recent introduction (so the general tone of his letter seems to imply); and apparently also that they were brought into England through some foreign^λ influence. On the other hand, he speaks of these as tending to luxury and unclean living, and to evil companionships, among the younger members of the monastic houses; to the neglect of reading and of prayer, and to the ruin of souls. Whatever may have been the exact state of circumstances which called out this his strong denunciation, this much at least is clear, that in the English monastic houses, early in the eighth century, there

† Illius namque Sacerdotii anterioris habitus, nostræ mentis ornatus est; et Pontificalem gloriam non jam honor commendat vestium, sed splendor animarum. . . . Et idcirco huic famulo tuo quem ad summi sacerdotii ministerium elegisti, hanc, quæsumus, Domine, gratiam largiaris, ut *quicquid illa velamina in fulgore auri, in nitore gemmarum, in multimodi operis varietate signabant, hoc in ejus moribus ætibusque clarescat.* D. Greg. Papæ

Sacram. Liber, p. 239. [The MS. is not earlier than the eighth century, and probably not much later. See Menardus’ Preface.] Other passages to the same effect are quoted in Appendix B.

λ *Vestimentorum superstitionem, Deo odibilem.* Cf. *infra*, note 299, p. 106.

λ He speaks of them as *transmissa*, “sent across,” by Antichrist, and as precursors of his advent.

had been a great development of external splendour in dress, either secular^μ or ministerial, or both; and that this had been defended upon some grounds of religion, which were regarded as superstitious and anti-Christian by St. Boniface.

^μ Of the splendid secular dress affected by ecclesiastics in the eighth century, we have many notices in early writers. Compare note 336, p. 165.



From a Drawing in Her Majesty's Collection. [See Description of Pl. XXXIII.]

CHAPTER VII.

SPECIAL VESTMENTS AND INSIGNIA OF CHRISTIAN MINISTRY
BETWEEN 400 AND 800 A.D.

WE have already mentioned the two principal authorities for the Christian vestments of this period,—St. Isidore,^v and the Fourth Council of Toledo, for the West ; St. Germanus^v of Constantinople, for the East. We may take the enumerations, there given, as a basis, in proceeding now to consider these vestments more in detail.

MINISTERING VESTMENTS IN THE WEST.

The vestments and insignia mentioned in the Acts of the Council of Toledo, A.D. 633, are the Alb, the Planeta, the Orarium ; and, in addition to these, the Episcopal Ring, and Pastoral Staff, as the distinctive insignia of a bishop. These Acts, however, determine, with certainty, only the vestments recognised at that period in Spain. From other sources we learn the names of additional vestments, such as the Dalmatic, and the Pallium, connected more particularly with Rome ; and of these also we will take the present opportunity of speaking.

^v See *infra* pp. 68 and 75 ; and for S. Germanus, p. 82.

I. THE ALB.

The "tunica alba," or, as it is more briefly called,[§] the *alba*, is the term used of the long white tunic worn, as we have seen, from Apostolic times, by those who ministered in the Church. Even as early as the Fourth Council of Carthage,[¶] we find a canon regulating its use as a garb to be worn, by deacons,^π only at specified times. And by this name, probably for more than four centuries, rather than by *dalmatica*, was the tunic of holy ministration known in all the Latin churches, Rome only excepted.

Later notices of the "alb" occur in the Council of Narbonne^ε (A.D. 589), indicative of the growth of great irreverence in the celebration of the "mass," an irreverence which required to be checked by special enactment. And if we find in the Acts of the Council of Toledo, already alluded to, that the "alb" is there spoken of as the characteristic vestment of a *deacon*, it is not that bishops and presbyters did not wear a white tunic under the "planeta," but that the

[§] *Alba* is first used virtually as a substantive, in a passage from Vopiscus (in *Claudio*, 14 and 17), in which we read of an *alba subserica*, i.e. made of linen interwoven with silk, sent as a present by Trebellius Pollio to Claudius (circ. A.D. 265).

[¶] Concil. Carthag. iv. Can. 41 (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1203). *Ut diaconus tempore oblationis tantum vel lectionis alba utatur*. It is very doubtful whether there was ever such a Fourth Council of Carthage actually held. The Canons, however, which are at-

tributed to this Council, are of about the date assigned, viz. towards the close of the fourth century.

^π It is to this white vestment of Deacons that John the Deacon alludes (Vita S. Gregorii, lib. i. 25), saying, that on being ordained deacon, St. Gregory appeared *non solum nitore habitus, verum etiam claritate morum probabilium, divinis angelis adæquari*.

^ε See Labbe, tom. v. p. 1020. *Nec diaconus, aut subdiaconus certe, vel Lector, antequam missa consummetur, alba se præsumat exuere*.

deacon, having no super-vestment,^σ was specially designated by the white alb in which he ministered.

Before proceeding further it may be well to notice a special form of the ministering tunic, connected more especially with Roman use.

THE DALMATIC.

The Dalmatic^τ (see Pl. VI. and XXVIII.) was a tunic with long and full sleeves, differing therein from the *colobium*, which had a very short and close sleeve, reaching a few inches only below the shoulder.^υ

Like other garments appropriated at a comparative early time, to ecclesiastical use at Rome, the Dalmatic had been in use by persons high in secular position, before it was adopted by the Church. In the West,^φ the earliest secular traditions connected with it are peculiarly unfortunate. For the first persons recorded to have worn it are the Emperors Commodus († A.D. 190) and Heliogabalus († 223). Their biographer Lampridius^χ records, as an outrage upon all pro-

^σ Compare Pl. XXVIII. where Archbishop Maximian wears a planeta over a dalmatic, whereas the two clerics in attendance on him are in dalmatics only. See also Pl. XVII.

^τ The full expression was *tunica dalmatica*, but this very rarely occurs, the word *dalmatica* being used as a substantive, as was "alba." The name was derived from the province of Dalmatia. See note 131.

^υ See, for example, the woodcut in p. xxxiv.

^φ Of a different kind are the first traditions in the East, if the word *δελματικίον*, used by John Damascene, be not an anachronism. Speaking of

the pretences to special sanctity made by the Pharisees, he mentions, *inter alia*, σχήματα ἐβελορησκευτικά τῆς ἐνδυσίας, διὰ τε τῆς ἀμπεχόνης, καὶ τῶν δελματικίων, ἦτον κολοβίων, καὶ τοῦ πλατυσμοῦ τῶν φυλακτηρίων, τοῦτεστι σημάτων τῆς πορφύρας, καὶ κρησπίδων, καὶ ῥοίσκαν ἐπὶ τα πτερυγία τῆς ἀμπεχόνης. [Cotelerii *Eccl. Græc. Monumenta Inedita*, vol. i. p. 284.]

^χ Lampridius in *Heliogabalo*, cap. 26. *Dalmaticatus in publico post cenam sæpe visus est; Gurgitem Fabium et Scipionem se appellans, quod cum ea veste esset cum qua Fabius et Cornelius a parentibus, ad corrigendos mores, adolescentes in publicum essent producti.*

priety,^ψ the fact of their being seen in public wearing this particular kind of tunic. Of the latter he writes, that he would often appear in public, after dinner, clad in a Dalmatic; and calling himself a second Fabius or Scipio, "because he wore a garment such as that in which Fabius and Cornelius, before they attained to manhood, were made by their own parents to appear in public, as a punishment for some offence committed." It may seem strange, at first thought, to hear of precisely the same garment being worn, "in public," only some thirty years later, by a Christian bishop. St. Cyprian of Carthage († 258), when led out to death, was wearing (if the "Acts" of his martyrdom may herein be trusted), first a byrrhus,^ω then, under that, a Dalmatic; and again, under the Dalmatic, a "*linea*," or shirt. That dress was, of course, not that which he would use in offices of holy ministry, but the seemly attire which he would wear on other occasions. And it is probable, for reasons already fully set out in earlier chapters^α of this Introduction,

ψ The impropriety may have consisted either in coming out into the streets, *sicut erat*, in the dalmatic, in which he had reclined at table, without toga or pallium; or possibly in his wearing a *tunica manicata*. This last would have been thought effeminate in the days of those older Fabii and Scipios. And hence the *punishment* involved in making two high-spirited boys appear in a tunic fit only for women. But I can hardly think, with Dr. Hefele, that a dalmatic worn by an emperor *under a super-vestment* (*toga, pallium*, or *lacerna*), would have been thought an outrage upon propriety in the third century of our era.

ω We hear elsewhere of a "byrrhus" as the secular dress of bishops, and others of the clergy. St. Augustine (*Serm. de Diversis*, ccelvi., tom.

v. p. 1579, *sqq.*), for example, says, that he could not wear a *byrrhus pretiosus*, even if it were given him. A byrrhus of costly material *might perchance be fitting for a bishop*, but not fitting for Augustine, "*hominem pauperem de pauperibus natum*." If good folk wished to give him what he should actually wear, it must be such as he could wear "without blushing." If it were more than this, he should sell it, and put the money into the common stock. For other references, see Raynaudus, *De Pilis*, &c., p. 1285. The word byrrhus, in older Latin *burrus*, is probably the Greek *πυρρός*. So St. Ildore, Orig. lib. xix. cap. 24. *Birrus a Græco vocabulum trahit: illi enim birrum bibrum* [*leg. πυρρόν*] *dicunt*.

α See Chapter II., p. vii., *sqq.*

that a bishop, in so important a place as Carthage, would habitually wear a long and stately tunic, like the Dalmatic, which even ordinary persons would at times assume, on occasions of unusual solemnity. And when worn, as by St. Cyprian, with a super-vestment over it, it would at once become appropriate to a solemn occasion, and to a person of dignified rank.

That the use of the Dalmatic, as a tunic of ceremony for state officials, and other such, continued at Rome itself side by side with its ecclesiastical use, we have proof afforded in the description^β given by John the deacon, of the dress worn by Gordianus, a senator, father of St. Gregory the Great [see Pl. XXV]. That double usage, secular and ecclesiastical, has continued ever since. A Dalmatic is still worn as one of the imperial and royal coronation robes, both on the Continent and in England. Of its use as an ecclesiastical vestment, in ancient and in modern times, we proceed now to speak.

The earliest traditions^γ on the subject go back to the time of Constantine. Sylvester, then Bishop of Rome, is said to have ordered that the deacons should wear Dalmatics in place of the *colobia*, which had previously been in use in offices of holy ministry. The fullest account of the subject is that of Rabanus Maurus (*infra*, p. 106, *sqq.*), written about the middle of the ninth century. He says, that "In the earliest times mass was performed in the dress of ordinary life, as some Easterns are said to do even to this day. But

β Joan. Diac. Vita S. Gregor. lib. iv. cap. 84. *Gordiano . . . castanei coloris Planeta, sub Planeta Dalmatica, in pedibus caligæ.*

γ See Rabanus Maurus (*infra*, p. 88), *De Inst. Cler.* lib. i., 7 and 20; Amalarius *De Eccl. Off.* lib. ii. cap. 21 (*infra*, p. 99), and note 203, p. 105; Alcuinus *De Div. Off.* (*infra*,

p. 116); Honorius of Autun (*infra*, p. 137.) With these agrees Anastasius, drawing as he did from the same sources as the early writers above quoted. *De Vit. Pontif.* p. 105. In S. Sylvestro. "*Hic constituit ut diaconi Dalmatica uterentur in ecclesia, et pallio linoſtimo læva eorum tegeretur.*"

Stephanus,^δ twenty-fourth Pope, directed that priests and Levites should not employ their sacred vestments in the ordinary usage of daily life, but reserve²¹³ them exclusively for the Church. And Sylvester ordained, that deacons should wear Dalmatics in Church, and cover their left hands with a pallium²¹⁴ of mixed linen and wool. And at first (*primo*), before Chasubles came into use, those of the priestly order wore Dalmatics. But afterwards, when they had begun to wear Chasubles, they conceded the use of Dalmatics to deacons. And yet, that pontiffs themselves sought to wear Dalmatics, is clear from this, that Gregory^ε and other Roman primates^ζ allowed the use of them to some bishops, forbade it in the case of others. And from this we may gather that in those days that was not matter of general privilege, which now almost all bishops, and some presbyters, regard as their right, to wit, the wearing of a Dalmatic under the Chasuble."

This account, compared with the original passage quoted by Anastasius from the *Gesta Pontificum* (note γ, p. lvii), leaves some questions still open to doubt. Both writers agree in stating that St. Sylvester's ordinance had special reference to *deacons*. And it is *possible*, therefore, that the Dalmatic, or full-fleeved tunic, may have been worn by bishops and priests in the Roman Church, at an earlier period. And so some writers^η have maintained. But it appears more probable that the fuller tunic was assigned to the deacons,^θ because they

^δ *Sed.* 253-257.

^ε See, for example, the letter quoted *infra*, p. 67.

^ζ So Pope Zachary (*sed.* 741-752), writing to Autrobert, Bishop of Vienne: *Dalmaticam usibus vestris misimus, ut, quia ecclesia vestra ab hac sede doctrinam Fidei percepit, et morem habitus sacerdotalis, ab illa etiam accipiat decorem honoris.* For Pope Symmachus, at a much earlier date, see below note θ.

^η Visconti *De Apparatu Missæ*, lib. iii. cap. 25. Du Sauflay, *Panoplia Episc.* lib. vi. cap. 3 and 4. *Apud* Martigny, D. A. C. *in voc.* Dalmatique.

^θ With this would agree again the concession of the Dalmatic to the *deacons* of the Church of Arles, by Pope Symmachus (*sed.* 498-514). [*Vita Cæsarii Arelat.* *apud* Baron. *Annal.* tom. vi. p. 601, *ad ann.* 508]. "Ipse Pontifex præclara ejus (*sc.* S.

wore no super-vestment, so that the scantiness of the older *colobium* was in their case specially conspicuous.

However this may be, it is clear that, as late as the eighth century, the Dalmatic, as a vestment of Christian ministry, was regarded as specially belonging to the Roman Church; and that it was only by special privilege from Rome (or by invasion of that privilege) that it was worn in any of the dioceses subject to the Roman See.

With this accords the fact, noticed by foreign ritualists, that, with special exceptions only, the Dalmatic was not worn in the Gallican Church till, in the time of Hadrian I., her own Liturgy was displaced (under pressure from the Crown) by that which was in use at Rome.

One word must be said, in conclusion, as to the ornaments of the Dalmatic at this period. From a passage of St. Isidore (quoted below at p. 74), it has been inferred by some, that that all Dalmatics had *clavi* or ornamental stripes, of *purple*.* But this is evidently a mistake. Of the very few ecclesiastical Dalmatics, earlier than the year 600, whose date^λ and whose colour I have been able to determine, none have any other than black stripes. And even if exceptions should be found, no more would be proved than that the *clavi* of such dalmatics *might* be purple. The short notices of words like "*dalmatica*," which have been preserved to us by S. Isidore, are often copied straight down from Scholiasts on Plautus,

Cæsarii) meritorum dignitate permotus, non solum eum verissime Metropolitanus honore præditum voluit, sed etiam speciali quodam privilegio pallii usum ei permittit, et *diaconos ejus perinde ac Romanæ Ecclesiæ diaconos Dalmaticis uti voluit.*"

^λ Martigny D. A. C. in *voc.* Dalmatique.

* Dr. Hefele, who is generally very exact, has been led into error as to the

colour of the *clavi* on the Dalmatics in the Ravenna mosaic (Pl. XXVIII). They are black, not purple, as he supposes. See p. 206 of his treatise.

^λ A mosaic, of which there is a coloured drawing in the Windsor collection, represents the Apostles with red *clavi* upon their tunics. This mosaic dates from the year 640, and is the earliest which I have found so ornamented.

Terence, and other old writers, and are not in all cases to be regarded as the results of careful research of his own. This being so, I think it not impossible, ^μ that his account (p. 74, note 131) of the Dalmatic (a vestment which does not appear to have been used in Spain) may be derived from some such older source; and that the word *sacerdotalis* may have referred (when originally penned by its actual author) to a tunic of heathen priesthood, such as we have seen to have been in not unfrequent use.

2. THE PÆNULA, CASULA, AND PLANETA.

Most writers on ritual assume that the three words, with which this section is headed, are but different names for one and the same garment. There are many questions of interest involved in the inquiry whether this assumption is well grounded, or no. And I propose therefore to state here the general results of a careful investigation of the history of these three words; and to set out in full, in an Appendix,^ν the evidence upon which those results have been reached.

THE PÆNULA.

I give precedence to the Pænula, as being, in all probability, far the oldest word of the three. We have *direct* evidence that garments, called by this name, were in use in Italy from the third^ξ century before Christ, to the fifth^ο century of our era. In the East the φαινόλης (the same word

^μ A contrary opinion to this is expressed in note 131, p. 74. But that note was written a year ago, when the writer knew less of St. Isidore's mode of working than he does now. See

Appendix A, Nos. 12, 13, 14.

^ν See Appendix C.

^ξ Appendix C, No. 1.

^ο Appendix C, No. 22. Compare what is said under No. 23 and 25.

under another form) has had a still wider range. We hear of it first in a writer ^π of the fourth century B.C., but then in a context which implies a belief, that such a garment was in use "*ante Agamemnona.*" And the same word, in its Byzantine form (note 153) having been adopted in the East, at an early period,^ε as the designation for the super-vestment worn in offices of Christian ministry, survives even to this day, both in the Greek Church itself, and, with slight modifications, in other Churches of the East.^σ

Deferring, for the present, any further reference to its use in the East, we shall do well to note here those points only in the history of the Pænula, which will illustrate its relation to the Planeta or Cafula, the "Chasuble" of Western usage.

And, first, for its form. Whether, in the later times of the Roman empire, the primitive form of this garment was always exactly adhered to, may reasonably be doubted. But this at least is certain, that the prevailing idea, connected with this word, was that of a garment which so completely enveloped ^τ the whole person, as to interfere entirely with active exertion of the arms. It was probably much such a cloak as the "poncho," which was in fashion in England not many years ago; with this addition, however, that it was furnished with a hood (as such outdoor garments for common use generally were) for protection of the head, if need were, from cold or wet. This primitive shape of the garment is probably that which was long retained in the East (as it still is, I believe, in many parts of it), and which may be seen represented

^π Rhinthon, quoted by Julius Polux. See Appendix C, No. 16.

^ε The earliest *direct* evidence of such adoption, as far as I know, is the passage of Patriarch Germanus, referred to in Appendix C, No. 24.

^σ In the Syriac Liturgies φαινόλιον appears as Faino, Filono, or Phaino. [Isa-Bar-Hali, quoted by Renaudot,

Lit. Orient. Coll. ii. p. 55.] In the Arabic version of the Coptic Liturgies it is generally *Albornos*, "The Burnous," with which we are more or less familiar. But in Slavonic the Greek word reappears as *Pbeloni*.

^τ See Appendix C, No. 3; and compare No. 16, and note 396.

in Pl. LVIII., No. 1 (St. Sampson). But in the West it is very possible that the older form may have been so far modified, that a garment such as that shown in Pl. V. *bis* (No. 5), may really be intended for a Pænula, as most antiquaries believe.^u

We have abundant evidence in Roman literature of the uses to which the Pænula served, and of its gradual exaltation in dignity from a garb of slaves or of peasants^φ to one which even emperors^χ might wear in travelling, and which was expressly prescribed, in the fifth century of our era, as the dress of senators.^ψ

A Pænula, of some kind, was from very early times recognised as the proper dress for travellers.^ω But to wear a Pænula as an ordinary dress, in the city, would, in republican times, have been regarded as a grave breach of etiquette on the part of any one who pretended to the character of a gentleman. But the use of the Pænula in rainy or very cold weather, as an outer cloak to be worn over the ordinary dress, had in the first century of our era become well established even in Rome.^α Yet even in the second century of our era the older plebeian associations still clung about it, so that an emperor^β could not appear in such a dress in the city, be the weather what it would. In the third century^γ a special permission was given by the Emperor Alexander Severus, by which senators were allowed to wear the Pænula in cold weather, even *intra Urbem*. But the same decree forbade its use by ladies, except when on a journey. It is not till yet two hundred years later^δ (A.D. 438) that we find

^u See Octavius Ferrarius, p. 831; Bartolus Bartolinus, *De Pænula*, cap. iv.; Weiss, *Kostümkunde im Mittelalter*, p. 14, fig. 8.

^φ Of slaves, Appendix C, No. 1; of peasants, Appendix C, No. 4 (compare No. 9).

^χ See Ferrarius D. R. V. pars ii. lib. ii. cap. 5.

^ψ Appendix C, No. 22.

^ω Appendix C, Nos. 3, 5, 15.

^α Appendix C, Nos. 7, 12, 13.

^β Appendix C. No. 13.

^γ Appendix C, No. 15.

^δ Appendix C, No. 22.

the Pænula formally installed, in the place of the older toga, as the distinctive garment of peaceful dignity, and as such to be worn by senators, to the exclusion of the warlike "terrors" associated with the *chlamys*.¹⁴²

An important question now arises, Was this Pænula the super-vestment adopted by the Western Church as the distinctive garb of bishops and priests in the highest offices of Christian ministry? By the Western Church in *Apostolic times*, or in the centuries immediately succeeding, most undoubtedly it was not. The proof of this may be seen in the Appendix.⁴ And to what is there stated I may add here, that I have neither seen alleged by others, nor have I myself found, one passage of any Latin writer from the first century to the fourteenth, in which mention is made of the Pænula as the proper name of a vestment of Christian ministry. But, on the other hand, the usage of the *phænolion* by the Greek Church, and early monuments of ecclesiastical dress in the West, such as those in Pl. XXVIII., XXX., and XXXI., lead to the conclusion, that the super-vestment worn in the sixth century, though called *Planeta*, was not unlike in form to the Pænula of which we have been speaking. And it is of course *possible* that, in some local churches, the name Pænula may really have been employed rather than *Planeta*, as a designation for this vestment. All that can be said is that no evidence has ever yet been alleged to prove that such was the case.

THE CASULA.

There is no certain evidence of the word *casula* ever being employed in speaking of a vestment of Christian ministry before the ninth century of our era. If, therefore, the arrangement adopted in this treatise were strictly adhered to, this word would first come under discussion at a later period

⁴ See Appendix C, under No. 17.

than the present. But it will be convenient to give the earlier history of the word in this place, in order to make it clear how the Cafula stands related to the Planeta and the Pænula.

And, first, for the origin of the word. There is no doubt that the derivation given by St. Isidore is the true one. ζ He regards it (see p. 74, note 130) as a diminutive of "*casa*," "a little house," or "hut." And we find, in point of fact, that the word had in his time the meaning of a "hut," or "booth,"¹³⁰ side by side with that of a garment, which is its more common meaning.

As regards its primitive shape we have no certain evidence to guide us, in respect of the first eight centuries, because, as far as we can now judge, the super-vestments in the monuments of ecclesiastical dress, dating from the sixth and seventh centuries, would have been originally called *Planetae*, and not Chasubles. But there is a strong probability that *in form* the Cafula of earlier times differed but little, if at all, from the Planeta and the Pænula. What difference there was consisted chiefly in material, and possibly in ornament; the Cafula being in those older days a garb chiefly worn by the poor, and, because worn by the poor, therefore also by monks. [Appendix C, No. 26, 28, 32, 33.]

ζ A passage of Philo Judæus, *De Victimis* (quoted by Alb. Rubenius D. R. V. lib. i. cap. 6) contains a curious anticipation of this application of the term *cafula*, to a cloak. αἰγῶν δὲ αἱ τρίχες αἱ (leg. καὶ) δοραὶ συνυφαίνονται τε καὶ συρραπτόμεναι, φορεταὶ γηγόνουσι ἰδοιπόροις οἰκίαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐν στρατείαις, οὓς ἔξω πόλεως ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ διατερίζειν ἀναγκάζουσιν αἱ χρεῖαι τὰ πολλὰ. He is evidently describing the φαινόλης, which in his time was in use in the East as well as in Greece and Italy. And by speaking

of it as "*a portable house*" for travellers, he makes it very probable that he was acquainted with the term *cafula*, as employed in the *lingua vulgaris* for the same garment, by the Latin-speaking peoples.

η Among other points of resemblance the older Cafula was, like the Pænula, a *vestis cucullata*, provided with a cowl or hood for the protection of the head. See the quotation from St. Isidore, p. 74. *Cafula est vestis cucullata*, &c. And see, further, Appendix C, No. 38.

In the Appendix will be found all the earliest notices that have been preserved to us, having reference to the *Casula*. And their general result, it will be seen, is this. The word was originally used of a garment worn, in outdoor use, by men of the lower class,^o as a protection against cold and wet. The same word was occasionally employed (in the African provinces at least) in speaking of the cloak worn for similar purposes by persons in somewhat higher station. Thus St. Augustine employs the word, in one place, in speaking of the outdoor garment worn by a journeyman tailor at Hippo (before his own time). At another time, speaking to an ordinary congregation (*Sermo CVII.*), he expresses his wonder that when men are careful that every thing about them should be good of its kind, they care not that their own souls should be so also. "Thou choosest not a bad house, but a good one,—nor a bad wife, but a good one,—nor a bad *Casula*, or a bad shoe,—and why then art thou content that thine own soul be bad?" (See Appendix C, Nos. 26 and 27).

The *Casula* was also, from the sixth to the eighth century, recognised as the characteristic dress of monks; and was worn, in outdoor dress, by many bishops, and by the clergy generally. St. Boniface (Appendix C, No. 36) in Council prescribed it as the proper out-door dress of the clergy (note 416), forbidding the use of the *Sagum*, or short cloak worn by the laity. (Appendix C, Nos. 27, 28, 29, 31.)

Lastly, at the beginning of the ninth century, we find the word *Casula* used for the first time, as a designation for the vestment previously known as *Planeta*; and from that time, down to the present, the word *Casula* has in common usage almost superseded the older term.

^o See Appendix C, Nos. 27 and 32.

¹ See p. 203, note 420.

THE PLANETA.

This last-named vestment is that with which we are more properly concerned in reference to the transition period, between the fourth and the ninth centuries.

We hear of the Planeta first in the fifth century, and again in the seventh (see Appendix C, Nos. 38 and 42), as a dress too costly to be worn by monks. And with this agree later notices, from which (Appendix C, Nos. 39 and 41) we find that it was worn by laymen of rank, both in Rome itself and in the African Provinces, in the course of the sixth century of our era.*

The first mention of it as worn in offices of Christian ministry is found in the Acts of the Council of Toledo, early in the seventh century (see p. 75). But we find it there spoken of not as any new thing, but as the recognised habit of bishops and presbyters, distinguishing them from the deacons, who wore an alb only.

St. Isidore, who presided at that Council, and whose pen may be clearly traced (note 133) in the record of its acts, has given elsewhere a derivation of the word Planeta. In an enumeration of a great variety of garments worn in ordinary life, he comes to the mention of "*Casula*" already noticed. And he proceeds in the same sentence (see p. 74) as follows. "The *Casula* is a garment provided with a cowl, the name being a diminutive from '*casa*,' a house, because, like a little house, it covers the whole man. . . . In like manner, people say that in Greek *Planetae* are so called, because the border of the Planeta 'wanders' in vague lines about the body. For which cause some stars are called '*Planetæ*,' as implying that their movements are erratic and divergent." Rabanus Maurus, in the ninth century, while adopting verbatim (see p. 91) St. Isidore's derivation of the

* See, further, Appendix C, Nos. 40, 42, 44, 45.

word *Casula*, says, expressly, “*hanc (sc. Casulam) Græci Planetam vocant*,” identifying, distinctly, the *Casula* and the *Planeta*. In so identifying them he was so far right, that *in his own time* the distinction between the two was no longer recognised. But in the sixth and seventh centuries it is evident that they were distinguished, the *Casula* as the *humbler* and *simpler* dress, proper to poor men and to monks (Appendix C, No. 26); the *Planeta* as the handsomer and more costly habit, worn in ordinary life at Rome, alike by senators and by popes (Appendix C, No. 41); and in Spain certainly, if not elsewhere, the distinctive vestment of bishops and presbyters.

The form of the *Planeta* (as an episcopal vestment), at that time, may be seen in Pl. XXVIII., compared with Pl. XXX. and XXXI., and to these we may add Pl. XXV., in which St. Gregory and his father Gordianus, a Roman senator, are both represented as wearing a *Planeta*.

SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE RELATING TO PÆNULA, CASULA, AND PLANETA, IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

On a review of the whole evidence as to these three garments, we arrive at the following conclusions.

First, that in general form the three differed little, if at all, the one from the other. But there is no evidence to show that a vestment of Christian ministry was ever called *Pænula* in the Latin Churches; nor *Casula* before the ninth century. That till about the close of the eighth century, “*Planeta*” was the name given to the super-vestment of Christian ministry, which in form and in use corresponded to what at a later time was known as the Chafuble (*Casula*).

That all these garments were worn, in ordinary life, by laymen as well as by ecclesiastics; the *Planeta*, however, as worn by laymen, being regarded, in all probability, as a mark of official dignity.

3. THE ORARIUM (THE LATER "STOLE.")

1. In the Acts of the Council of Toledo, which we have taken as our starting-point for the present period, we find the Orarium recognised as a distinctly ministerial vestment, worn by bishops, presbyters, and deacons; the Orarium of the deacon, however, being worn upon one (the left) shoulder only.

Whence this word Orarium, and what the origin of the vestment so called? To these questions such reply as *can* be given will appear upon consideration of the following facts.

For the origin and derivation of the word itself, we must look not to the technical connotations of the word, whether secular or ecclesiastical, but to what is older than these technicalities, the common usage of the word as a term of ordinary speech. So guided, we shall probably be right in thinking, that the word is connected with *os*, the mouth (of which *or* is the real root-form), or, in its plural form, *ora*, the face; and regard the term as originally equivalent to our own "handkerchief." (See Appendix E, No. 1).

But of the passages, *now extant*, in which the word occurs, those of earliest date (Appendix E, No. 1 *b*) employ it in a somewhat technical sense. We first hear of it in the pages of Trebellius Pollio, a writer of the fourth century, and a contemporary of Constantine. According to him the Emperor Gallienus (Imp. 260-268) sent to Claudius (his successor in the empire) as an imperial present, four *oraria farabdena*. Not very many years later we hear of Aurelian (Imp. 270-275) being "the first who distributed *oraria* as presents to the people, to be used by them '*ad favorem*,'" *i.e.*, probably as colours to be worn and waved at the circus, on occasion of public games, much in the same way as ribands of various colours are worn now, '*ad favorem*,' among ourselves, whether

as emblems of political party, or (in contexts of another kind) of rival universities, or of rival schools.

Once more. At a period not very long subsequent to that last named, we find, upon the Arch of Constantine (see Pl. IV.), a representation of the Emperor and his attendant courtiers; and of these latter many are distinguished by a broad riband, or scarf, worn over their other dress, presenting nearly the appearance of the "riband" of the Order of Knighthood, still worn as an honorary distinction in our own times. And the scarf, or broad riband, so worn, *corresponds, in general appearance, to the Orarium of the earliest ecclesiastical monuments* in which this vestment is represented (see Pl. XXVIII., XXX., XXXI.), though in point of arrangement some difference is observable.

In another Roman monument (not ecclesiastical), of which an engraving is given by Boissardus, a similar "scarf" is seen worn over the rest of the dress by two of the principal personages represented. But here the arrangement differs considerably from that seen in the plates, reproduced in this Work, to which reference has just been made; and approaches very closely to the form of the later archiepiscopal pallium, as it may be seen in Pl. XXV., XLII., &c.

To these facts should be added that to which I here allude by anticipation, viz. the use of *pallia linoſtima*,^λ or cloths partly of linen and partly of wool, employed at Rome from the time of S. Sylveſter, as diſtinctive inſignia of deacons; and the carrying of an ἐγγεῖσιον, a napkin, or towel, to ſimilar purpoſe, by deacons in the Eaſt.

And with all theſe facts before us we ſhall probably not

^λ See note 214, p. 108. The ſame words are employed (being taken from the ſame ſource) by Anaſtaſius, De V. R. P. p. 105. But this writer records a preciſely ſimilar order made by Zoſimus (ſed. 417 A.D.): *Hic*

multas conſtituit eccleſias, et ſecit conſtitutum ut diaconi lævas teſtas haberent [hora ſacrificii, ſo one MS.] de pallis (ſic) linoſtimis, et per parochias conceſſa licentia cereos benedici.

do wrong in concluding, that the use of "*oraria*," of "*pallia lineamenta*" (*mappulæ* or *manipuli*), of the *pallium pontificium*, in the West—of ὠράριον, ἐργχείριον, ὁμοφόριον, in the East—are all instances of the adaptation, with certain modifications, to Christian use, as distinctive insignia in the church, of what had been previously used in secular life as marks of special privilege, or of official dignity.

The fact that the date of these adaptations, both in East and West, is not earlier than that of the "peace of the church," so called, in the time of Constantine, adds considerably to the probability of this conjecture, because of the more fully developed organisation which then first became possible.

We need only add that the vestment now known in the Western Church as a "Stole," was called "*Orarium*" (not *Stole*) till the close of the Transition Period. It is in accordance with this fact that the Greek word *στολῇ* is never used in the Latin sense of a "Stole," but retains, in ecclesiastical and Byzantine Greek, its older classical meaning. [Note 141, p 83.]

4. THE MAPPULA AND PAPAL PALLIUM.

The three vestments already described, the Alb (or the Dalmatic, as the case might be), the Planeta, and the Orarium, these alone can be described as vestments of Christian ministry, properly so called, recognised in the West during the Transition Period. But a few words must here be said of two vestments, connected more especially with the Roman Church, viz. the *Mappula* and the Papal Pallium.

From two letters on the subject of the Mappula, which are quoted in the Second Part of this work (pp. 65 and 66), we learn that, even before St. Gregory's time, a custom had obtained, that the clergy of the Metropolitan City should carry *Mappulæ*. The Roman clergy considered this a distinctive privilege, to which no other church could lay claim;

and resented extremely the pretension to a similar right put forward by the clergy of Ravenna. St. Gregory, by way of appeasing the strife, gave his consent at last that the principal deacons of the Church of Ravenna should wear them, but only when in attendance, on ceremonial occasions, upon the archbishop. Compare Appendix C, No. 40, and note 418.

The matter is only so far of importance, that it illustrates a tendency of which we find many instances at a later time. At Rome, the centre of the wealth, the luxury, the power, of the older empire, special developments of outward dress and insignia were brought about from time to time; and for the very reason that these were connected, at first, with the feat of government, and of the "Apostolic fee," the clergy of other churches became desirous of the like distinctions, and so the example set at Rome was sooner or later followed in the West generally. This we shall find to have been the case with the Mappula of which now we are speaking. The Maniple, which, to the eyes of Latin writers of the ninth century, was one of the "sacred vestments" of Christian ministry, was but a development of this earlier *Mappula*.

A far greater historical importance attaches to the "Pallium," in that new, and exclusively ecclesiastical sense, in which we find it employed from the fifth century downward. Of the ordinary meaning of the word we have already had occasion to speak. (Note π, p. xii).

But the "Pallium" now in question is that known as the Papal or archiepiscopal Pallium, the earliest form of which may be seen in Pl. XXVIII, the latest^μ in Pl. LXI. (No.

^μ The successive variations in the form of the Papal Pallium may be traced in the following among the illustrations of this volume. For the beginning of the ninth century, see above, p. lii, compared with Pl. XXXIII. and XL.; for the tenth

century, Pl. XLII. (probably, also, XXXIX.) and XLIII.; for the eleventh, Pl. XLIV.; for the twelfth, the figures of popes in Pl. XLV. and XLVI. From the representation of the modern Pallium, given in Pl. LXI., and of the "Orfrey" of the

16). The monuments lately discovered by De Rossi in the Roman Catacombs (see Pl. XXX., XXXI.), and which date, probably, from the eighth century, will show what, during this transition period, was reputed to have been the primitive form of this vestment. As there shown, it is simply a *white orarium worn outside the planeta*, and crossed over the left hand, so as to keep it from actual contact with the Book of the Gospels, then the traditional insignia of a bishop. It is very possible that in the frescoes in question it is an Orarium (and not a Pallium) which the painter designed to represent. If he were accurately acquainted with the episcopal dress of the third century which he had to represent, he would no doubt have said (and said with truth) that it would have been an anachronism for him to represent, in a dress of *that time*, a vestment such as the Papal Pallium, which was then unknown to the Church.

We have only to consider for a moment the contrast between the position of the Church in the first three centuries, and that to which she attained after the age of Constantine, in order to see why the Papal Pallium, as a distinctive vestment, should not have been known in that earlier period. While the empire was in antagonism to the Church, as it was till the time of Constantine, it was not in the nature of things that a completely organised hierarchical system should be developed, by the formal aggregation of dioceses into metropolitan provinces, the subordination of metropolitans to patriarchs, of patriarchs to an œcumenical patriarch, or to the "Apostolic see." We find, accordingly, that the vestments worn in that earlier period were vestments for bishops, presbyters, deacons, the three orders of the Christian ministry which had existed from the very first. But

priest's Chasuble shown in the same plate, it will be seen that the latter far more nearly resembles in size and ge-

neral appearance the Pallium of the eleventh century, than does the Pallium itself as now worn by an archbishop.

from the period of the "peace of the church" under Constantine, the Christian hierarchy was developed in two directions—downwards in respect of the minor orders, subdeacons, acolytes, readers, and the like,—upwards, in a graduated ascent, which, by slow degrees, and with much, at times, of even bitter contest, culminated at length in the recognition of the Bishop of Constantinople in "New Rome," as ecumenical Patriarch in the East, and of the Bishop of Rome as having first place in precedence among all the patriarchal sees throughout the world. And it is in accordance with these facts that we find so many of the early councils, in the latter part of the fourth century, occupying themselves with the regulation of distinctive vestments, or insignia, such as marked off, on the one hand, the position of the deacon, as one to be distinguished even in outward semblance (by the wearing of an orarium) from that of the minor orders; and, on the other hand, served to distinguish Metropolitans and Patriarchs from the suffragan bishops of their respective provinces.

MINISTERING VESTMENTS IN THE EAST.

What has been already said of the various vestments recognised in the West during the Period of Transition (400 to 800 A.D.), will apply, with slight modifications only, to those of the East.

The vestments recognised at this time were the Sticharion, corresponding to the Alb, or rather to the Dalmatic

^v For the word see note 346, p. 169. I may add, however, that as one meaning of *στοῖχος* is a "line," it is not improbable that this vestment may have been so called from the

λῶγια (note 146), or coloured stripes, by which it was decorated. We hear of the Sticharion as a vestment of holy ministry as early as the time of S. Athanasius.

of the West; the Phænolion,^ξ answering to the Planeta (the later "Chasuble"); and the Orarium,^ο a term common to both East and West in respect of the deacon's Scarf (or "Stole"), Pl. LIX., but which was known as Peritrachelion, or Epitrachelion, when worn pendent round the neck by bishops or priests. See Pl. LVI., No. 1, and the description.

And as we hear of Mappula and Pallium (see above, p. lxx) in the West, so also of ἐγχέριον (Napkin or Towel), and Omophorion in the East. This last vestment, from the fifth century, if not from an earlier time, down to the present, has been worn by Patriarchs and Metropolitans, and by almost all bishops in the East. And if the reader will compare the consular dress, represented in Pl. XXIII., with that attributed to Patriarchs in Pl. XLI., LVIII., and to St. James in Pl. LXIII., he will see how close is the resemblance between the distinctive ornament of the two costumes. On the dress, too, of Emperors of the East, a similar ornament is conspicuous. And there can be little doubt that the imperial (or consular) Omophorion was the type upon which the patriarchal Omophorion was formed.

The passages from early writers, of chief importance, bearing upon the ecclesiastical dress of the East at this period, will be found in the later pages ^π of this volume.

The art-monuments dating from before 800 A.D. are but few. Those from the Church of St. George at Thessalonica,

^ξ Called φελώνιον by St. Germanus. See p. 84, note 143. For various forms of the Eastern φελώνιον, at various times, see Plates XVIII., XIX., XX., XXVII., XLI., and the figure of St. Sampson in Pl. LVIII. Several Phænolia, attributed by tradition to bishops or patriarchs of the twelfth and following centuries, are accurately depicted

in the first volume of the *Antiquités de l'Empire Russe*.

^ο See note 144.

^π See St. Isidore of Pelusium, p. 94; St. Chrysostom, or the author who bears his name (see note 94), p. 51; St. Germanus, p. 82; and with these compare St. Symeon of Thessalonica, p. 168.

some of which are figured in this volume (Pl. XVIII., XIX., XX., XXI.), do not represent a dress of holy ministry, but of dignity, common, with very slight modifications only, to priests and people alike. These mosaics date, probably, from the fourth century. Two centuries later in date are the mosaics of the great Church (St. Sophia) at Constantinople. And among those which, from their position, have escaped destruction at the hands of the Turks, are some of bishops of the fourth century, dressed in white ^σ vestments (Sticharion and Phænolion), and with an Omophorion, resembling in form that attributed to St. James, in the fresco reproduced in Pl. LXIII.

Upon a review of the whole evidence, literary ^τ and monumental, bearing upon the question, we should conclude that the sacred vestments, recognised in the Greek Church in the eighth century, were the Sticharion, Girdle, Orarium,^υ

^ε See Salzenberg's *Alt-Christliche Baudenkmale*. Pl. XXVIII. and XXIX. The bishops represented are Athenios, Bishop of Nicomedia, † 311; Basileios (St. Basil the Great), † 379; Dionysius the Areopagite, † 96; Nicolaus, Bishop of Myra (one of the 318 at Nicæa), † 330; and Gregorius of Armenia, † 325.

The Church of St. Sophia was built 532-538 A.D., and the mosaics are of the same date.

^σ The dress closely resembles that attributed to St. James in Pl. LXIII., with this difference only, that in every case the Sticharion, or long tunic, has double stripes on either side, and running round the sleeve, this latter fitting closely round the wrist, instead of being full and loose as is the sleeve of the Roman dalmatic. In five out of the six figures, the *lora*, or

stripes, are two lines of purple and red; in one (that of Gregory of Armenia) of red only. The crosses on the Omophorion correspond in colour, in every case, to those of the *lora*.

^τ The passage of St. Germanus, quoted at p. 82, *sqq.* presents some difficulty owing to his mixing up the mention of garments worn in holy ministry with those of ordinary usage, such as the Mandyas,¹⁵³ and the Cowl.¹⁵¹

^υ The *ἀσθὶν* mentioned by St. Germanus (p. 86, note 154) as a part of the deacon's dress, is probably only another name for the Orarion, having reference to the material (linen) of which it was formed. The word is evidently so used in the passage, attributed to St. Chrysostom, quoted at p. 49, note 78.

and (ἐγχείριον φ) Napkin, for deacons; the Sticharion, Girdle, Phænolion, and Peritrachelion, for priests; while the bishop, over and above these, wore an Omophorion as his distinguishing badge.

φ The ἐγχείριον, mentioned by St. Germanus, as carried by the deacon, suspended from his Girdle, may have been of local use only, as was, at one time, the Mappula at Rome. But

the use of the ἐγχείριον died out (or at least the mention of it as thus carried by the deacon); but that of the Mappula spread by degrees throughout the Western Churches.



From the Roma Subterranea of Aringhi.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE THIRD PERIOD, FROM THE YEAR 800 A.D. TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

WE attain now to well-trodden ground, and have for the first time ample materials for our guidance, in contemporary monuments, both of literature and of art, such as those published in the later pages of this volume.

These have been so arranged in chronological order as to tell, in great measure, their own tale. A few words only are needed by way of preliminary remark.

One who takes a review of the literature of the eighth and the ninth centuries can scarcely fail to remark, how rapid, in the later period of the two, was the succession of writers upon subjects mainly relating to ritual. It is not difficult, on reflection, to account for this being so. The restoration of peace to Europe, consequent upon the victories of Charlemagne, gave men leisure for a devotion to study, which had been all but impossible amid the wars and rumours of wars, by which for nearly four hundred years the minds of men had been distracted. The example, too, and the liberal patronage of that monarch, favoured the interests of letters; and new schools of learning were founded both in France and Germany, under the auspices of our countryman Alcuin, or of such worthy inheritors of his learning as Rabanus Maurus¹⁵⁵ and Walafriid Strabo²⁰⁴.

The circumstances of the time account for the direction then given to literary activity. It was not unnatural that in the Carlovingian age the minds of earnest men, shocked by the contemplation of the awful corruption, both in Church

and State, which everywhere met their gaze, should turn back with fond and reverential affection to the earlier and purer ages of the Church; and in the writings of those whom they, like ourselves, spoke of as "the Fathers," seek for guidance in building up anew the ruined fabric of the Church.

To causes such as these may probably be traced the sudden outburst, early in the ninth century, of a new spirit of inquiry into all that concerned the discipline and the ritual of the Church. And the question of vestments was one which naturally, at that time, assumed a special prominence. Churchmen, who had travelled widely, as then some did, in East as well as West, could hardly fail to notice the remarkable fact, that at Constantinople as at Rome, at Canterbury as at Arles, Vienna or Lyons, one general type of ministering dress was maintained, varying only in some minor details; and that this dress everywhere presented a most marked contrast^x to what was *in their time* the prevailing dress of the laity. And as all knowledge^y of classical antiquity had for three centuries or more been well-nigh extinct in the Church, it was not less

^x See this illustrated in pictures dating from the ninth or tenth century, such as those in Pl. XXXVII. and XLIII.

^y At the close of the sixth century St. Gregory writes to a bishop in Gaul, saying that he cannot send him the Pallium till he gives up studying Grammar and teaching it to others (Ep. xi. 54). He himself, as he tells us, *knew nothing of Greek*; and at Constantinople in his time there was no one who knew enough of Latin to translate one of his letters intelligibly (Ep. vii. xxx). With a few rare exceptions this ignorance of Greek continued in the West, till the fall of Constantinople, in the fifteenth century,

sent learned Greeks for a refuge into Italy, and so contributed powerfully to the restoration of learning, and the reformation of Western Christendom. When a Roman Cardinal spoke in Greek (or in what passed for Greek) at the Council of Florence, A.D. 1430, it was held to be (so Raynaldus gravely tells us) clear proof of miraculous agency. I state these facts not for the purpose of casting a reproach upon the Church of past ages; but because this fact of prevailing ignorance of the ancient languages serves to explain many of the phenomena (among them some that are very painful) of the history of the Church in mediæval times.

natural that they should have sought a solution of the phenomenon thus presented to them, in a theory of Levitical origin, which, from that time forward, was generally accepted. It was not till the revival of classical learning, many centuries later, that men were led to form a truer estimate of this and of other kindred questions. The successive documents, dating from the ninth and the two following centuries, contained in the later part of this volume, show very plainly the progressive development of this theory. Thus Rabanus Maurus, perhaps the earliest of these writers, when speaking of the older Levitical vestments, and of their spiritual meaning, does but follow, as he says, in the steps of the older writers. But in what he says of the *habitus sacerdotalis* of his own day, he makes a kind of apology for speaking *secundum modulum ingenioli sui* (see note ¹⁶⁹), as one who felt that he had entered upon new and somewhat doubtful ground. And we have only to compare the dress of a bishop of the ninth century (as in Pl. XXXVII.) with that of the Jewish high-priest (Pl. IX.), in order to see what difficulties had to be got over in identifying the one with the other. Some accordingly (as Walafrid Strabo) contented themselves with saying (p. 108) that *in number* the Christian vestments corresponded to those of the law; and with such vague resemblances as that of the "plate of gold" being worn only by the High-priest, as the pallium was worn only by chief pastors. But others, while recognising points of strong contrast^ω between the two types of dress, too obvious to be overlooked, sought, by the most far-fetched comparisons^α to find features of likeness between them. And where this was not possible, additions^β were made from time to time to the

^ω Such as the absence of *tiara* or *lamina aurea* (p. 112 and Appendix E, No. 12).

^α As of the Amice to the Ephod (see p. 111, ²²⁴); of the Jewish Rational [a jewel of twelve precious stones

worn on the breast] to the Pallium of an Archbishop (Note ²¹⁷).

^β As of an actual jewel to represent the Rational (Note ²³⁶, p. 124, and more certainly at p. 138, Note ²⁸³), and of a mitre with its *circulus aureus*,

"*Sacræ Vestes*" of the Church, in order to create a similarity where none had existed hitherto.

We find, accordingly, both in the literature and in the monuments of art, dating from the period now under consideration, distinct evidence of the rapid development of the ministering dress of the Western Church, from the beginning of the ninth to the end of the twelfth century.

Rabanus Maurus (p. 88), and Amalarius (p. 94), early in the ninth century, and the reputed Alcuin, probably in the tenth (p. 110, note 218), all speak of eight vestments as worn by bishops, beside the Pallium proper to archbishops. St. Ivo (p. 128), writing at the close of the eleventh century, adds but one to the older enumeration, he being the first to speak of the "*caligæ byssinæ*," "leggings," or stockings, made of linen, as among the sacred vestments. But within a period of about fifty years, at the most, from the time of St. Ivo's writing, we find in Honorius of Autun (note 296^a, p. 142), the number of the sacred vestments exactly doubled. He reckons seven vestments as proper to priests; seven more (fourteen in all) as belonging to bishops; while two others, the Pallium and the Crozier, are appropriated to archbishops. Innocent III., by the further mention (p. 153) of a vestment (the "*orale*"³¹⁴), and an ornament (the pectoral cross³¹⁵), which he regarded as belonging exclusively to the Roman Pontiff, added yet more to the whole enumeration. And by him, accordingly, six vestments are assigned to presbyters, fifteen in all to bishops, one, the Pallium, specially to archbishops; making, with the two which he regarded as proper to the Bishop of Rome, no less than eighteen in all.

With this rapid development of the vestments in the

to represent the Tiara of the High-priest, Appendix G.

γ. Walafrid Strabo (p. 106) men-

tions but seven, omitting, as he does, all mention of the Amice.

Roman Church, may be contrasted the fixity which, in this as in other matters, is characteristic of "the unchanging East."³ Patriarch Simeon, writing in the fifteenth century, knows of but five vestments proper to a priest, and of two more, making seven in all, as belonging to a bishop.³⁵⁷ And though he mentions the Pectoral Cross,³⁴² and the Staff,³⁴⁵ as insignia of a bishop, he classes them with the Mandyas, or Mantle, as part of the non-liturgical costume, as in point of fact they are still regarded.

But to return to our more immediate subject,—the history of the vestments in the West,—it will be found that the multiplication of the "sacred vestments," above spoken of, was effected, partly by actual additions to the less elaborate dress of earlier centuries, partly by the promotion, so to speak, to sacred rank, of articles of dress, or of ornament, which had long been in use, but without being consecrated to symbolical significance, or to any specially sacerdotal usage.

As the most convenient way of bringing before my readers the general results of the documents printed in full in the later pages of this volume, I have drawn out in an Appendix (see Appendix F), an enumeration of the sacerdotal vestments, at the time of their fullest development in the Roman Church; with such brief notices to each as will indicate their origin, and the successive modifications which they underwent.

For the present it will be sufficient to point out some of the more general conclusions which result from the whole inquiry.

³ Yet there are not wanting indications that in the East also, in particular instances at least, and in the later mediæval times, the idea of directly imitating Levitical vestments was entertained. See, for example, the curious monument reproduced in Pl. LVII., and the Description at p. 245.

And, first, it will be seen, that of all the various types of ministering drefs, now retained in different branches of the Church, there is one, and one only, which approaches closely both in form and distinctive ornament to that of primitive Christendom, that drefs being the Surplice (Appendix G, 5), with Scarf or Stole (see note on Pl. LXIII), now worn in the English Church.^ε The reader has only to refer to Pl. XV. and XVII., in which monuments of that ancient drefs have been preserved, in order to see that this is the case.^ζ

It appears further, that the original elements out of which the present ministering drefs was developed, are common to the Greek, the Roman, and the Anglican Churches. But in the ministering drefs of the Roman Church that primitive drefs *has been overlaid by successive additions*, till the older type can scarcely be recognised under the changed forms in which it now appears. See Pl. LXI. We, ourselves, at the Reformation, had no sooner thrown aside those mediæval additions, merely Roman in their character, than we placed ourselves at one again with the Primitive Church, in this, as in other matters of far higher importance, in which a similar course was pursued.

Of the additions which at various times have been made to the really primitive drefs, some few, as the Orarium and Planeta, date from the fourth century. And these are common to both East and West. But by far the greater number date from the ninth, to the middle of the twelfth, century ;

ε See particularly the central figure of the right-hand group (*spectator's* right) in Pl. XV. The drefs of an English clergyman of the present day is there exactly delineated.

ζ The only difference is that the

black stripes represented on those primitive vestments were *attached to the tunic* instead of being separate, as was the later Orarium, and the modern "Stole."

a period of darkness, both intellectualⁿ and moral, (especially so at Rome itself), such as the Christian world has never known either before or since.

It is not within the scope of the present work to enter upon matter of theological controversy. And I therefore only state here, as matter of history, that this development of the sacerdotal dress was exactly coincident in time with the development of innovations in eucharistic doctrine, which were distinctly mentioned for the first time early in the ninth century, and which culminated in the decree of the Eleventh Lateran Council,²⁰⁷ concerning transubstantiation, *anno* 1215. It was but natural that this should be. The formation of

ⁿ Baronius (Cardinal) ad ann. 900. "Incipit annus Redemptoris nongentesimus . . . quo et novum inchoatur Sæculum, quod sui asperitate ac boni sterilitate, ferreum, malique exundantis deformitate plumbeum, atque inopia scriptorum appellari consuevit obscurum." [*Ann. Ecc.* tom. x. p. 629].

ø *Id.* ad ann. 912, No. 14, p. 663. "Quæ tunc facies sanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ, quam sædissima, cum Romæ dominarentur potentissimæ æque ac sordidissimæ meretrices, quarum arbitrio mutarentur Sedes, darentur Episcopi, et quod auditu horrendum et infandum est intruderentur in Sedem Petri earum Amasii Pseudopontifices, qui non sint nisi ad consignanda tantum tempora in catalogo Romanorum Pontificum scripti. Quis enim a scortis hujusmodi intrusos sine lege, legitimos dicere posset Romanos fuisse Pontifices?" For a *contemporary* picture of what Rome then was—a picture which more than justifies such language as the above—see the sixth book of the *Historia Luitprandi Episcopi*.

Genebrardus, Archbishop of Aix (*Chronographia*, lib. iv. p. 553), speaks of this period of awful corruption in the Papal See itself as lasting for 150 years, and through a succession of fifty pontiffs.

In the treatise of Paschasius Rubertus, of whom Cardinal Bellarmine (*Opp.* tom. vii. p. 121) writes, "*Hic auctor primus fuit qui serio ac copiose differuit de veritate Corporis ac Sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia.*" By this, of course, he means that he is the earliest writer who distinctly maintains *the Roman doctrine* on this subject. So understood, his assertion is perfectly exact. The doctrine of Paschasius was thought so strange, that Charles the Bald called upon Ratramnus (*al.* Bertramnus) of Corbey to answer it, which he did in a treatise which is of special interest to ourselves, as having formed the mind of Ridley and Cranmer upon this particular question. For further particulars of interest concerning it, see *Knox's Remains*, vol. ii. p. 157, and *Christian Remembrancer*, July, 1867.

what was deemed a distinctly sacerdotal dress, modelled in detail upon the vestments of Levitical priesthood, both promoted, and in its turn was promoted by, such developments of doctrine as those to which I refer.

With this much of Preface, I may ask my readers to proceed to the study of the many monuments, both of primitive and of mediæval times, which are set out in the later pages of this volume.



Ancient Glass from the Roman Catacombs. See description at p. 247.

PASSAGES FROM ANCIENT AUTHORS.

I.

NAMES OF THE SACERDOTAL VESTMENTS AS ENUMERATED IN HOLY SCRIPTURE.

THE various passages¹ in Holy Scripture in which the vestments of the Levitical priesthood are described or referred to, need not be quoted at length, as they are easily accessible to all. But it will be convenient for purposes of reference to specify the various names by which those vestments were known in the Apostolic age, and in those which followed, whether in Greek, through the LXX., or in Latin, through the early Italic Versions, and that of S. Jerome.

	LXX.	S. JEROME.	ENGLISH A. V.
1. The Linen Drawers.	περισκελῆ λιναῖα.	<i>Feminalia linea.</i>	Linen Breeches.
2. The White Tunic (of linen).	χιτῶν ποδήρης, or χιτῶν βύσσινος.	<i>Tunica talaris, or linea stricta.</i>	Coat, long robe.
3. The Girdle.	ζώνη.	<i>Balteus, cingulum, or zona.</i>	Girdle.
4. The Priest's Cap.	κίδαρις, or μίτρα.	<i>Cidaris, or mitra.</i>	Bonnet.
5. The Tunic of Blue worn under the Ephod.	χιτῶν κοσσυμβωτός, or ὑποδύτης ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπωμίδα.	<i>Tunica superhumeralis.</i>	Broidered coat, or Robe of the Ephod.
6. The Ephod, with the bands thereof.	ἐπωμίς. (The Girdle of the Ephod is not mentioned by LXX.)	<i>Superbumerale and Bal- teus (Exod. xxxix. 5).</i>	Ephod, and 'curious Girdle' of the Ephod.
7. The Breastplate, or Jewel of the Ephod.	λόγιον, or περιστήθιον.	<i>Rationale.</i>	Breastplate.
8. The Tiara, or High- Priest's Mitre, with the Plate of Gold.	κίδαρις, or μίτρα, with πίταλον.	<i>Cidaris, or Tiara, with Lamna.</i>	Mitre, with the Plate of Gold, or Holy Crown.

¹ The passages of chief importance are Exod. xxviii. xxix. and xxxix.; Lev. viii. and xvi. (compare below, note 17); Num. x 26-28; Ezek. xlv. 17, sqq. In the Apocryphal Books, Eccus. xlv., and 1 Macc. x. 21,

where by ἡ ἱεὴς στολή is meant not one single robe only (as in A. V. "put on him the holy robe"), but the entire investiture of the high-priest.

II.

JOSEPHUS.

ON THE SACERDOTAL VESTMENTS OF THE
LEVITICAL PRIESTHOOD.

I. ANTIQ. JUD. III. 7.

[HE begins by saying that there are vestments proper both to the ordinary priests known as Χαναῖται,² and to the Ἀναξαβάχης,³—i.e. chief of priests or high-priest. These he proceeds to describe in detail.]

Dress of the Priests (of the second order).—1. The Linen Drawers. The dress of the priests is such as I shall now describe. When any one of them is about to engage in offices of priesthood he performs the ablutions required by the law, and then puts on, first, the garment called Μαναχασῆς,⁴ equivalent in meaning to the Greek συναντήρ. These are drawers made of linen, fastened about the middle, into which the feet are passed, as would be the case with Persian trousers. They do not reach higher than the waist, where they are securely fastened.

2. *The long white Tunic, and (3) the Girdle thereof.* Over these drawers he wears an under-garment of linen, made of byflus.⁵ It is called ξεθομένη,—that is, “made of linen;” for χεθὼν with us means flax. This garment is a full-length tunic (χιτὼν ποδήρης), fitted exactly⁶ to the body, and with its sleeves fastened closely about the

² Χαναῖται is, probably, the Hellenic representative of כְּהֵנִי.

³ The reading here (as often is the case with foreign words in old MSS.) is probably corrupt. Various emendations have been proposed, as Παβαχαάνην, or Παβαχσάνην,—i.e. chief of the priests. But these are in the highest degree uncertain.

Heb. מִכְשֵׁי.

⁵ The Greek βύσσος = Heb. כִּפְתָר; which means sometimes (α) fine flax, sometimes (β)

the fine linen thence prepared. It would seem to be used occasionally (γ) with a primary reference to its bright white colour (candor). Compare Note 19.

⁶ τὰς χειρὶδας περὶ τοῖς βραχίουσιν κατισφινγμένους. This closeness of fit, and the absence, generally, of all loosely-flowing garments, in the dress of the Levitical priesthood, is a characteristic necessarily entailed (for cleanliness sake) by the nature of their ministrations in respect of animal sacrifice.

arms. This they gird in to the breast, not far from the armpit, passing the girdle round the body, very high up.† This girdle is four fingers broad, and woven in open pattern, like the scales of a serpent. Upon it flowers are worked in divers colours of purple, blue, and white; but the woof is made of byffus only. When worn, the priest begins by placing one end upon his chest, and then passes it twice round him, and fastens it: after which, if he is not engaged in the active duties of his ministry, he lets it flow down full as far as the ankles. The beauty of the girdle is thus fully displayed. But whenever he is required to busy himself about the sacrifices, or in other acts of ministry, he throws it over his left shoulder, and so wears it that its movements may not interfere with the work in which he may be engaged. This girdle was named by Moses Ἀβανήθ, but by us of these days it is called Ἑμίαν, a name which we learnt from the Babylonians, by whom it is still employed. The tunic above spoken of has no loose folds in any part of it; but the opening for the neck is left of full size, and is fastened up, upon the chest and back, just above either collar-bone, by strings attached to the border. Μασσαβαζάνης is the name by which it is known.

4. *The Priest's Cap.* On the head he wears a cap without any peak,⁷ extending, not over the whole head, but over a little more than half of it. It is called *μασσανεμφθής*. Its construction is such as to present the appearance of a turban,⁸ being a band of linen wove, and of considerable thickness, folded upon itself several times, and so stitched together. At top of this band there is a covering of fine linen (*σινδών*) which overlaps it and reaches to the forehead, and is so arranged as to hide the stitching of the thick band below, which would have been unseemly if left exposed, and to lie flat upon the skull. It is made to fit with great exactness, so as not to fall off while the priest is engaged in sacrifice. Thus much as to the dress of the priests generally, as distinct from that of the high-priest.

† ἐλίγον τῆς μασχάλης ὑπεράνω τὴν ζώνην περιάγοντες. The translation above given is suggested for want of a better. To render the words with former translations, *paulo supra axillas*, gives a meaning which is unintelligible as applied to a girdle.

⁷ πῖλος ἄκωνος. He mentions thus particularly the absence of any "cone" or peak,

because among the priestly insignia of many heathen rites such a peak was conspicuous. See Pl. V. Or the contrast intended may be that of the high-priest's tiara.

⁸ τῇ κατασκευῇ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὡς στεφάνη δοκίμ. The exact meaning of *στεφάνη* is doubtful.

VESTMENTS WORN BY THE HIGH PRIEST ONLY.

5. *The Tunic of blue with its Girdle.* The high-priest wears the vestments already described, without omitting any; but over them he wears further a tunic of blue,⁹ reaching to the feet, like that first described, and known in our tongue as the *μειζ*. This is fastened about him with a girdle of the same colours as that already described, but with gold thread also introduced. Along the lower border is a fringe attached, coloured and fashioned so as to resemble pomegranates; and with them golden bells devised with great beauty of appearance, and so arranged that, between each two bells a pomegranate is set, and between each two pomegranates a bell. This tunic is not formed in two separate parts, fastened together by a seam upon the shoulders and at the side, but consists of one long piece, woven throughout, and has an opening slit for the neck, not horizontally, but lengthwise (vertically) towards the chest and the middle of the back. Upon the opening thus made, an edging, or border, is sewn, so as to conceal anything unseemly in the opening thus made. A similar slit is made at the wrists.

6 and 7. *The Ephod and the Breastplate.* Over and above these he puts on, thirdly,¹⁰ the ephod, as it is called, resembling the *ἐπωμὶς* of the Greeks. The fashion of it is as follows:—It is woven for the space of a cubit in depth of various colours, with wrought work of gold, and leaves the middle of the breast uncovered. It is furnished with sleeves, and in its whole fashion is constructed as a tunic. In the space left void by the ephod itself, a piece of cut (squared) cloth is fastened, wrought in divers colours like those of the ephod. It is called *Ἑσθήνης*, and means in the Greek tongue “Oracle.” This exactly fills up that space which in the weaving of the ephod was left as an opening on the breast. It is united by golden rings at each corner to the ephod, which is itself provided with corresponding rings for the purpose, and the one set of rings is attached to the other by a band of blue cloth. And that the parts intervening between these rings might not hang loose and out of shape, a plan was devised for

⁹ *χιτώνα ἐξ ὑακίνθου ποικιλιμένον.*

¹⁰ He speaks of the ephod as *third* among the distinctive vestments of the high-priest, reckoning the tunic of blue as the first, and the

girdle, or bands, belonging to this outer tunic (by which it was attached to the ephod) as the second.

keeping all in place by (νήματα ιακίνθινα) a stitched edging of blue. The ephod has a clasp of fardonys on either shoulder, each of the two projecting ends being wrought in gold, so as to fit in with the clasps. Upon these stones are inscribed the names of the twelve sons of Jacob in the letters proper to our native language, six on either stone. The elder sons' names are on the right shoulder, those of the younger on the left. So likewise on the breastplate (or "Oracle") there are set twelve stones of unusual size and beauty, forming an ornament such as men generally could not possibly obtain because of its exceeding costliness. These stones are arranged in lines, there being four rows, and each of these containing three stones. They are worked into the stuff on which they are fixed with a setting of gold, whose ornamental work is so inserted into the stuff as to hold together without giving way. Of the four rows the first contains a fardonys, a topaz, and an emerald; the second a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire. In the third are, first, a lyncurius, then an amethyst, and an agate; making up nine in all, thus far. In the lowest row a chrysolite stands first; afterwards an onyx, and, lastly, a beryl. On all these stones letters were engraved, which served to designate Jacob's sons, whom we regard as the heads of our twelve tribes. Each stone bears a name of some one patriarch, according to the order of birth. The rings already mentioned are too weak of themselves to bear the weight of the stones. Accordingly, the border of the breastplate, where it reaches upwards towards the neck, is furnished with two larger rings, inserted into the principal texture. These rings are to receive certain chains of wrought work, which, on the top of either shoulder, met and were attached to cords of gold. The end of these cords was turned up, and reached ¹¹ as far as a ring projecting from the hinder border of the ephod. Thus was the breastplate secured from all danger of giving way.

The ephod was also furnished with a girdle, wrought in divers colours and in gold, as already described; and this encircled the ephod, and was then brought back and fastened at the seam, and then hung down. The fringes of the ephod were bordered on either side, and kept in place, by cylinders of gold.

8. *The High-priest's Cap, or Mitre.* A cap,¹² such as that already

¹¹ ἀνέβαινε καὶ εἰς τοὺς ποδῶν. I suspect that the true reading is ἐνέβαινε, with the meaning

"was inserted into."

¹² πῖλος = Latin *pileus*, or *pileum*.

described as worn by the priests generally, was assigned to the high-priest also. But above this, and sewn on to it, he had another, made of blue, and richly ornamented. Round this cap ran a circlet of gold, wrought in three tiers,¹³ and upon this circlet is a cup-shaped flower, exactly resembling what our own people call Saccharus, but is known to the Greek herbalists as Hyoscyamus. [Here follows in the original text a long description of the plant in question, which I have omitted as being very obscure, and not of importance to the questions now before us.] The golden circlet thus formed extends from the back of the head to either temple. But to the forehead itself the flower-shaped ornament, just described, does not extend. But there is here a plate¹⁴ of gold, on which is engraved, in sacred letters,¹⁵ the holy name of God. Thus have I described the adornment of the high-priest.

2. DE BELLO JUDAICO. (LIB. V. CAP. V. § 7.)

Those of the priests who, by reason of any bodily defect, did not engage in holy ministrations, were wont to appear, together with those who had no such defect, inside the enclosure, and received the portions due to them by right of birth, but wore the garments of ordinary life. For the sacred dress was worn only by one who ministered (at the altar). But those of the priests who were without

¹³ περιέρχεται στέφανος χρύσεος ἐπὶ τρισημίαν κεκαλυμμένος. No mention of this triple crown is made in H. S. But Josephus tells us (Antiq. Jud. xx. cap. 9), that Judas son of Hyrcanus, being at once high-priest and king, διάδημα περιέβητο πρῶτος, was the first to assume a royal crown (in addition, i.e. to the sacerdotal tiara). And then we read at a later period that when Pompey restored another Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood of which, and of the royalty then attaching thereto, he had been deprived by his brother Aristobulus, τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους προσασίαν ἐπίστρεψε, διάδημα δὲ φορεῖν ἐκώλυσε, he made over to him the government of his own people, but prevented his wearing a (royal) crown. It is probable, therefore, that the tiara with triple crown described by Josephus, was a combination of the symbols of spiritual and temporal

power, as is the triple crown (see Pl. 33) of the later Roman popes. The triple crown of the Jewish priest-king may have had reference to the three governments (1 Macc. x. 30) of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee.

¹⁴ πτελαμὼν χρύσεος. "Band" is the more literal rendering. But St. Jerome was no doubt right in considering the word as being here equivalent to the Latin *lamna*, a thin plate of metal.

¹⁵ ἱεροῖς γράμμασι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιστημημένος. The expression is not inconsistent with that which is recorded in Holy Scripture, viz., that the words upon the plate were, "Holiness unto the Lord." (Exod. xxviii. 36.) By ἱερὰ γράμματα are probably meant the older "Samaritan" letters, so called.

disqualifying defect went up to the altar and the Holy Place, having about them a vesture of fine linen,¹⁶ and abstained carefully from strong wine, out of reverence for the duty they had to perform, that in nothing they might transgress while engaged in their holy ministration. And the high-priest went up with them, yet not always so, but on the seventh days, and on the new moons, and at any national festival, or general assembly of the people, of annual observance. And he performed his ministry, covered from the thighs to the groin with a girding band; and wearing an inner garment of linen, and over this a long vesture of blue, circular in form, and furnished with a fringe. To these fringes were fastened golden bells, and pomegranates alternating therewith; the bells significant of thunder, the pomegranates of lightning. [Then follows a description of the ephod, the breastplate, and the tiara, much such as that already quoted; and he then adds] :—This dress he (the high-priest) was not in the habit of wearing at other times, but put on one of simpler character; but he did wear it on occasions of his entering (ὅποτε εἰσίοι) the most Holy Place, which he did once only in each year, and alone, on the day (of Atonement) when it is customary for all to keep fast unto God.¹⁷

¹⁶ ἐπὶ τῷ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀνέβαινον οἱ πάντες ἱερεῖς ἄμωμοι βύσσον μὲν ἀμπεχόμενοι.

. . . This dress being of linen would, in the nature of things, be white. Compare the passage of Philo commented on in note 17.

¹⁷ The statement here made, that the high-priest wore his "golden vestments" on the Day of Atonement, is not really inconsistent (as has been supposed by some) with the distinct assertion made by Philo (see below, p. 8), and confirmed by Lev. xvi. 4, 23. From both these last we gather that the high-priest,

before actually entering within the veil on the Day of Atonement, laid aside his garments of glory, and entered the Most Holy Place clad in white only. What Josephus here states is perfectly consistent with this; though all that he speaks of is the fact of these garments of glory being worn on occasion of this particular day. The fact being, no doubt, that the high-priest went into the Holy Place, in his robes "of glory," and laid them aside, in the Temple, before entering within the veil.

III.

PHILO JUDÆUS.

OF THE WHITE VESTMENTS WORN ON
THE DAY OF ATONEMENT.

I. LIBER DE SOMNIIS, p. 597.

τὸν μὲν ἀρχιερέα ὁπότε μέλλοι τὰς νόμῳ προστεταγμένας ἐπιτελεῖν λειτουργίας ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐδικαίωσε λόγος ὕδατι καὶ τέφρῃ περιρρᾶίνεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ γὰρ ὁ σόφος Ἀβραάμ ὅτε ἐντευξόμενος ἦει γῆν καὶ σποδὸν εἶπεν ἑαυτὸν, ἔπειτ' ἐνδύεσθαι τὸν ποδῆρην χιτῶνα καὶ τὸ ποικίλον ὃ κέκληκεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιστήθιον, τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν φωσφύρων ἄστρον ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα. Δύο γὰρ ὡς ἔοικεν ἱερὰ θεοῦ· ἓν μὲν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πρωτόγονος αὐτοῦ θεὸς λόγος· ἕτερον δὲ λογικὴ ψυχὴ ἥς ἱερεὺς ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος, οὗ μίμημα αἰσθητὸν ὁ τὰς πατρῴους εὐχὰς τε καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελῶν ἔστιν, ᾧ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐπιγέγραπται χιτῶνα ἐνδύεσθαι τοῦ παντὸς ἀντιμίμημα ὥντα οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα συνειρουργῇ καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἄνθρωπῳ, καὶ τῷ παντὶ ἄνθρωπος. Δύο μὲν οὖν εἶδη τό τε ῥαντὸν καὶ τὸ ποικίλον τύπων ἔχων ἐπιδεδεικται· τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ τελειότατον ὅς ἐνομάζεται διάλευκος αὐτίκα σηματοῦμεν ὅταν εἰς τὰ ἐσώτατα τῶν ἁγίων ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀρχιερεὺς εἰσὶν τὴν μὲν ποικίλην ἐσθῆτα ἀπαμφίσκεται λινῇν δὲ ἑτέραν βύσσου τῆς καθαρωτάτης πεποιημένην ἀναλαμβάνει· ἡ δ' ἐστὶ σύμβολον εὐπορίας αὐγοειδεστάτου φέγγους. Ἀρράγεστέρα γὰρ ἡ ὁλόκη καὶ ἕξ οὐθενὸς τῶν ἀποθησκότων γίνεται, καὶ ἔτι λαμπρότατον καὶ φωτεινότερον ἔχει μὴ ἀμελῶς καθαρθεῖσα χροῖμα.

The high-priest, when about to perform the holy offices by law assigned to him, was required by the sacred word (of God) to sprinkle himself, in the first place, with water and ashes, as a remembrance to him of his own self (for even Abraham, the wife, when he was going to make intercession, spake of himself as being dust and ashes) and then to put on the long ("tunic") robe, and the ornament of curious work called the breastplate, being a copy and image of the light-giving constellations that are in heaven. For the Temples of God are, as it seemeth, two. One is this, our own world, wherein

also the Divine Word, God's first-begotten, is High-priest; but the other temple is the reasonable soul, whose Priest is the true Man, whose embodied representation is he who duly offers the prayers and sacrifices after the manner of our fathers, to whom is given that precept of which I spake, that he should put upon him the robe which is the image of the whole heaven, in order that, in one act of sacrifice, the world may join with man, and man with all creation.

We have seen now that two kinds of the types spoken of above are to be found in the person of the high-priest. We will now signify the same truth in respect of the third and most perfect (colour) that which is called "thoroughly white."¹⁸ Whenever that same high-priest, of whom we spake, entereth into the innermost sanctuary of the Most Holy Place, he putteth off his variegated garments, and assumeth another vesture of linen, made of byssus, and this serveth to indicate the intensity of most brilliant light. For the cloth thus formed is very hard to rend, neither is the material thereof furnished by any creature subject unto death, and if it be carefully cleansed, it hath a most bright and luminous colour.¹⁹

¹⁸ He had been speaking of the mystical meaning of the three colours mentioned in Gen. xxx. and xxxi., *διάλευκα*, i.e. partly white, but capable of meaning ("thoroughly" or "thoroughly," and so) "very white;" *ποικίλα*, variegated; and *σποδοειδῆ βαντά*, "of the colour of ashes (and) sprinkled," or "speckled." The play on words to which Philo has recourse can scarcely be reproduced in English.

¹⁹ Note here the brilliancy (*λαμπρότης*, or *candor*) which ancient writers, both in East and West, attribute to vestments of white

linen. Those who have observed the effect produced by white linen, as seen in the bright light of a southern climate, will not wonder at such expressions as that of Philo above quoted. With it compare *λίον καθαρόν καὶ λαμπρόν* (Apoc. xv. 6), and again (xix. 8), in speaking of the marriage garment worn by the Bride of the Lamb, *ἰδὲν αὐτῇ ἵνα περιβάληται βύσσινον καθαρόν καὶ λαμπρόν*. Elsewhere white garments are said *ἀσπράττειν*, to gleam as does lightning (Luke, xxiv. 4); or *στίλβειν* (Mar. ix. 3), to shine as do the stars.

IV.

HIERONYMUS.

EPISTOLA AD FABIOLAM DE VESTE SACERDOTALI.²⁰

[VOL. II. p. 574.]

USQUE hodie in lectione veteris Testamenti super faciem Moyfi velamen positum est. Loquitur glorificato vultu, et populus loquentis gloriam ferre non sustinet. Quum autem conversi fuerimus ad Dominum, auferetur velamen: occidens littera moritur, vivificans spiritus fuscitatur. Dominus enim spiritus est, et lex spiritalis. Unde et David orabat in Psalmo: *Revela oculos meos: et considerabo mirabilia de lege tua.*

Et ne longum faciam (neque enim propositum mihi est nunc de tabernaculo scribere) veniam ad sacerdotalia vestimenta: et antequam mysticam scruter intelligentiam, more Judaico, quæ scripta sunt, simpliciter exponam: ut postquam vestitum videris sacerdotem, et oculis tuis omne ejus patuerit ornamentum, tunc singulorum causas pariter exquiramus.

Discamus primum communes sacerdotum vestes atque pontificum. Lineis feminalibus, quæ usque ad genua et poplites veniunt, verenda cælantur, et superior pars sub umbilico vehementer astringitur: ut si quando expediti mactant victimas, tauros et arietes trahunt, portantque onera, et in officio ministrandi sunt, etiam si lapsi fuerint, et femora revelaverint, non pateat quod opertum est. Inde et gradus altaris prohibentur fieri: ne inferior populus ascendentium verenda conspiciat: vocaturque lingua Hebræa hoc genus vestimenti MACHNASE (מכנסי) Græcè περισκελῆ, à nostris feminalia, vel bracæ²¹ usque ad genua pertingentes. Refert Josephus (nam ætate ejus adhuc templum stabat: et necdum Vespasianus et Titus Jerosolymam subverterant, et erat

²⁰ Written at Bethlehem in the year 396 or 397.

²¹ *A nostris feminalia vel bracæ ad genua*

pertingentes." This last is exactly our own "knee-breeches."

IV.

ST. JEROME

ON THE SACERDOTAL VESTMENTS.²⁰

LETTER TO FABIOLA.

IN the reading of the Old Testament, even to this day, there is a veil upon the face of Moses. There is a glory upon his face as he speaks, and the people cannot bear to look thereon. But when we have turned unto the Lord the veil shall be taken away. Then doth the letter which killeth die, and the spirit, which giveth life, is stirred up. For the Lord is a Spirit, and spiritual, too, is the Law. For which cause David prayed in the Psalm (cxix. 18) "Take thou the veil from mine eyes, and I will consider the wondrous things of thy law."

[Then after a digression concerning the parts of the various victims reserved for the use of the priests under the Levitical law, and a statement of their mystical signification, he proceeds as follows:]

I come now to the sacerdotal robes (of the Levitical priest), and before inquiring into their mystical meaning, I will set down literally, after the manner of the Jews, what is written, that so, when you have seen the priest clad in his robes, and all his adornment has been set out before your eyes, we may then inquire likewise into the reasons of each particular.

Let us observe, first, what were the vestments common to priests and to high-priest alike. They have a covering for the thighs made of linen, and reaching down to the knees and the back of the leg, the upper part thereof being tied tightly about the middle of the body, so that when lightly clad for the slaying of victims, dragging forwards bulls or rams, carrying burdens, or engaged in other office of ministration, there may be no unseemly exposure. . . . This kind of vestment is called in Hebrew, MACHNASE [מַכְנָסִי], in Greek περισκελῆ, and in Latin *feminalia* (thigh-pieces) or *bracæ*.²¹ It is said by Josephus (and in his day the Temple was yet standing, and Jerusalem not yet

ipse de genere sacerdotali, multoque plus intelligitur quod oculis videtur, quàm quod aure percipitur) hæc feminalia de bysso retorta ob fortitudinem solere contexi, et post quàm incisa fuerint, acu confui. Non enim posse in tela hujuscemodi fieri.

Secunda ex lino tunica est ποδήρης, id est, talaris, duplici findone, quam et ipsam Josephus byssinam vocat, appellaturque CHOTONATH (כֹּתֹנֶת) id est, χιτών, quod Hebræo sermone in *lineam* vertitur. Hæc adhæret corpori, et tam arcta est et strictis manicis, ut nulla omninò in veste sit ruga: et usque ad crura²² descendat. Volo pro legis facilitate abuti sermone vulgato. Solent militantes habere lineas, quas camisias²³ vocant, sic aptas membris et strictis corporibus, ut expediti sint vel ad cursum, vel ad prælia, dirigendo jaculo, tenendo clypeo, ense vibrando, et quoquumque necessitas traxerit. Ergo et sacerdotes parati in ministerium Dei, utuntur hac tunica, ut habentes pulchritudinem vestimentorum, nudorum celeritate discurrant. [Note 6, p. 2.]

Tertium genus est vestimenti, quod illi appellant ABANET (אַבְנֵט), nos cingulum, vel baltheum, vel zonam possumus dicere. Babylonii novo vocabulo HEMIAN (חֲמִיץ) vocant. Diverfa vocabula ponimus, ne quis erret in nomine. Hoc cingulum in similitudinem pellis colubri, qua exuit feneſtutem, sic in rotundum textum est, ut marsupium longius putes. Textum est autem subtemine cocci, purpuræ, hyacynthi, et stamine byssino, ob decorem et fortitudinem: atque ita polymita arte distinctum, ut diversos flores ac gemmas artificis manu non textas, sed additas arbitreris. Lineam tunicam, de qua supra diximus, inter umbilicum et pectus hoc stringunt baltheo, qui quattuor digitorum habens latitudinem, et ex una parte ad crura dependens, cum ad sacrificia cursu et expeditione opus est, in lævum humerum retorquetur.

Quartum genus est vestimenti, rotundum pileolum, quale pictum

²² S. Jerome here distinctly states (what is contrary to general impression) that the χιτών ποδήρης of the Jewish priests extended only *ad crura*, i.e. about half-way between the knee and the ankle. He is probably right. Though ποδήρης means literally (like *talaris*) *reaching to the feet*; it was probably a conventional term for any of the longer tunics worn on occasions of state, whether it actually reached to the feet or no. And it is difficult to understand how a close fitting tunic that really reached to the feet, and was not

open at the sides, could have allowed of the active (even violent) exertions that would sometimes be required of the Levitical priests.

²³ *Camisia*. S. Isidore (Orig. xix. 22, 29) derives the word a *camis*, "*quod in his dormimus in camis, id est in stratis nostris.*" With him it is a night-shirt. In S. Jerome's time it was evidently a term of the *lingua vulgaris*, for which he offers a sort of apology. From it are descended It. *Camicia* (and *Camice* "an alb," to which *camisia* is compared above); Fr. and Eng. *Chemise*.

overthrown, and he was himself of the priestly order, and the eye in such matters as this is more to be trusted than the ear) that these *feminalia* were woven of byssus, doubled upon itself for greater strength, and sewn together with a needle when properly cut out; it being impossible to make a garment of this kind in the ordinary way upon a loom.

Next comes a linen tunic, of the kind called *ποδήνης*, that is, reaching to the feet, made double of the fine linen called *findon*, or, according to Josephus, of *byssus*, like the last. The name of this is *CHOTONATH* (*i.e.* *χιτών*), a word equivalent in Hebrew to the Latin *linea*. This is closely fitted to the body, and is so scanty, and with sleeves so narrow, that there is no fold in this garment. It reaches a little below the knee.²² For better understanding of what I say I may employ a somewhat common word of our own. Our soldiers, when on service, wear linen garments, which they call "shirts,"²³ fitting so closely, and so fastened about the body, as to leave them free for action, whether in running or in fighting, hurling the javelin, holding the shield, wielding the sword, or whatever else, as need may require. And so the priests, standing prepared for the service of God, wear a tunic such as this, so that while they have their robes of beauty, they may hasten to and fro like men that stand stripped for speed.

The third of the priestly vestments is what the Jews call *ABANET*, a word which may be rendered girdle, belt, or zone. In Chaldaic it has a different name, *HEMIAN*. I mention these different names to prevent mistake. This belt is made like the skin of a serpent, where-with it puts off the decay of old age. And it is woven round so as to resemble a long purse. The warp thereof is of scarlet, purple, and blue; the web of fine flax for beauty and strength. The ornaments thereon are so wrought by the skill of the embroiderer, that the various flowers and gems might well be deemed to have been set there in reality, rather than woven by the hand of the artificer. The linen tunic, already spoken of, is girt into the waist by this belt, which is four fingers broad, and with one part of it pendent below the knee, but is thrown back on to the left shoulder when the more active duties of actual sacrifice so require.

The fourth of the vestments is a small round cap, such as we see on the head of Ulysses, much as though a sphere were to be divided

in Ulyſſe conſpicimus, quaſi ſphæra media ſit diviſa, et pars una ponatur in capite: hoc Græci et noſtri *τιράραν*, nonnulli galerum vocant, Hebræi MISNEPETH (מצנפת): non habet acumen in ſummo, nec totum uſque ad comam caput tegit: ſed tertiam partem à fronte inopertam relinquit: atque ita in occipitio vitta conſtrictum eſt, ut non facilè labatur ex capite. Eſt autem byſſinum, et ſic fabrè opertum linteolo, ut nulla acūs veſtigia forinſecus appareant.

His quattuor veſtimentis, id eſt, feminalibus, tunica linea, cingulo quod purpura, cocco, byſſo, hiacynthoque contextitur, et pileo, de quo nunc diximus, tam ſacerdotes quàm Pontifices utuntur. Reliqua quattuor propriè Pontificum ſunt, quorum primum eſt MAIL (מַעֲלָל), id eſt, tunica talaris, tota hiacynthina, ex lateribus ejusdem coloris aſſutas habens manicas, et in ſuperiori parte qua collo induitur aperta, quòd vulgò capitium²⁴ vocant, oris firmiſſimis ex ſe textis, ne facilè rumpantur. In extrema parte, id eſt, ad pedes, ſeptuaginta duo ſunt tintinnabula, et totidem mala punica, iisdem contexta coloribus, ut ſuprà cingulum. Inter duo tintinnabula unum malum eſt: inter duo mala unum tintinnabulum, ut alterutrum ſibi media ſint: cauſſaque redditur. Idcirco tintinnabula veſti appoſita ſunt, ut quum ingreditur Pontifex in Sancta Sanctorum; totus vocalis incedat, ſtatim moriturus ſi hoc non fecerit.

Sextum eſt veſtimentum quod Hebraica lingua dicitur EPHOD (עֶפֶד). Septuaginta *ἐπωμίδα*, id eſt, ſuperhumerales appellant. Aquila *ἐπένδυμα*, nos EPHOD ſuo ponimus nomine. Et ubique in Exodo, ſive in Levitico ſuperhumerales legitur, ſciamus apud Hebræos EPHOD appellari. Hoc autem eſſe Pontificis veſtimentum, et in quadam Epiſtola ſcripſiſſe me memini: et omnis Scriptura teſtatur ſacrum quiddam eſſe, et ſolis conveniens Pontificibus. Nec ſtatim illud occurrat, quòd Samuel qui Levita fuit, ſcribitur in regnorum primo libro, habuiſſe ætatis adhuc parvulæ *ephod bad*, id eſt, *superhumerales lineum*: quum David quoque ante arcam Domini idem poſtaſſe referatur. Aliud eſt enim ex quattuor ſupradictis coloribus, id eſt, hiacyntho, byſſo, cocco, purpura, et ex auro habere contextum: aliud in ſimilitudinem ſacerdotum ſimplex et lineum. Auri laminæ, id eſt, bractææ, mira tenuitate tenduntur, ex quibus ſecta fila torquentur, cum ſubtegmine trium colorum, hiacyntho, cocci, purpuræ, et cum ſtamine byſſino: et efficitur

²⁴ *Capitium*, here the opening of the tunic, | (apud Ducange), “Capitium, ſummitas tunicæ,
its “head-piece” ſo to ſay. Compare Papias | capitis foramen in veſte.”

through the centre, and one-half thereof to be put upon the head. This is what in Greek and in Latin is called a tiara, but sometimes also *galerus*; in Hebrew, MISNEPHETH. It has no peak at top, nor does it cover the whole head as far as the hair extends, but leaves about a third of the front part of the head uncovered. It is attached by a band (*vitta*) on to the back of the head, so as not to be liable to fall off. It is made of byssus, and is so skilfully finished with an outer linen cover that no marks of the needle are to be seen without.

These four vestments, viz. the drawers, the linen tunic, the girdle woven with purple, scarlet, fine linen, and blue, and the cap just described, are in use by priests and high-priests alike. The remaining four belong exclusively to the high-priests. And these of the first is the MAIL, a full-length tunic, entirely of blue, with sleeves on either side of the same colour; and made open at top, where the opening is made for the head,²⁴ a strong edging being attached to the selvage to prevent its tearing. On its lower edge, at the feet, there are seventy-two bells, and as many pomegranates, made in the same colours as the girdle above described. The bells and the pomegranates alternate one with the other. And a reason is assigned for the addition of these bells, namely, that when the high-priest enters into the Holy of Holies, there may be a sound heard all about him as he goes, seeing that he would incur instant death were this not done.

The sixth of the vestments is called in Hebrew EPHOD, by the LXX, ἐπωμίς, i.e. *superhumemale*. In the version of Aquila it is ἐπεσθύμα [or "supervestment"], with our own writers the original word, ephod, is often retained. And wherever in Exodus or in Leviticus the word *superhumemale* is read, this is to be understood as representing the Hebrew EPHOD. That this vestment belongs exclusively to the high-priest, I remember to have said in one of my letters, and all Scripture proves the same, that this vestment is of a sacred nature and suited for the high-priests alone. Let it not be objected that, in the first Book of Kings, we read of Samuel, who was a Levite, having, when yet quite a child, a "linen ephod," EPHOD BAD, for David also is said to have worn a similar dress before the ark. But it is one thing to have an ephod woven in the colours already described (blue, fine linen, scarlet, purple and gold); another thing to have a simple linen ephod resembling (in shape) that

palliolum miræ pulchritudinis, præstringens fulgore oculos in modum Caracallarum,²⁵ sed absque cucullis. Contra pectus nihil contextum est, et locus futuro Rationali derelictus. In utroque humero habet singulos lapides clausos et astrictos auro, qui Hebraicè dicuntur soom (שום): ab Aquila et Symmacho et Theodotione onychini: à Septuaginta smaragdi transferuntur: Josephus, sardonychas vocat, cum Hebræo Aquilaque consentiens: ut vel colorem lapidum, vel patriam demonstraret. Et in singulis lapidibus tena Patriarcharum nomina sunt, quibus Israeliticus populus dividitur. In dextro humero majores filii Jacob, in lævo minores scripti sunt: ut Pontifex ingrediens Sancta Sanctorum, nomina populi pro quo rogaturus est Dominum, portet in humeris.

Septimum vestimentum est mensura parvulum, sed cunctis supra dictis sacratius. Intende quæso animum, ut quæ dicuntur, intelligas. Hebraicè vocatur HOSEN (חשן), Græcè autem λόγιον, nos *Rationale* possumus appellare, ut ex ipso statim nomine scias mysticum esse quod dicitur. Pannus est brevis ex auro et quattuor textus coloribus, hoc est, iisdem quibus et Superhumera, habens magnitudinem palmi per quadrum, et duplex, ne facile rumpatur. Intexti sunt enim ei duodecim lapides miræ magnitudinis atque precii per quattuor ordines: ita ut in singulis versiculis terni lapides collocentur. In primo ordine sardius, topazius, smaragdus ponitur. Symmachus dissentit in smaragdo, ceraunium pro eo transferens. In secundo carbunculus, sapphirus, jaspis. In tertio lyncurius, achates, amethystus. In quarto chrysolithus, onychinus, berillus. Satisque miror cur hyacinthus prætiostissimus lapis in horum numero non ponatur: nisi fortè ipse est alio nomine lyncurius. Scrutans eos qui de lapidum atque gemmarum scribere naturis, lyncurium invenire non potui.²⁶ In singulis lapidibus secundum ætates duodecim tribuum sculpta sunt nomina. Hos lapides in diademate

²⁵ The *caracalla*, originally a Gaulish dress, was introduced among the Romans by M. Aurelius Antoninus [Emperor A.D. 210 to 217], surnamed "Caracalla" from his habitual wearing of it. It was furnished with a hood (*cuculla*), and this is the reason why S. Jerome adds here "*sed absque cucullis*." An Emperor having set the fashion, it speedily passed into general use. And we find it mentioned from time to time either as a splendid dress (such as the context here shows to be meant) or as worn in ordinary life, by per-

sons high and low, the name being retained in reference to its shape, though in material and in colour it might vary infinitely. In the story of the martyrdom of St. Alban given by Bede [Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 6], we find it worn by a clergyman (*clericus*) in Britain, and the context there implies that at that time it was a somewhat unusual dress. This was during the persecution of Diocletian at the close of the third century.

²⁶ See Theophrastus περί τῶν λίθων, 28, 31, and Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvii. c. 4.

of the priests. The gold-leaf used in making this robe is drawn out to a marvellous thinness, and then twisted into separate threads. The woof is of three colours,—blue, scarlet, and purple, and the web of byffus; and so a vestment is formed of wondrous beauty, dazzling the eyes as does our own caracalla,²⁵ but not furnished with a hood. Upon the breast there is an open space left, affording room for the “Rational,” which is there to be. On either shoulder there is a single stone, enclosed and set in gold. These stones are in Hebrew called soom, explained as meaning *onyx* ’sy Aquila, Symmachus; and Theodotion, but by the LXX as *emeralds*. Josephus, following the Hebrew and Aquila, calls them *sardonix*, to indicate either the colour of the stones, or, it may be, the place where they are found. On each of these stones are the names of six of the twelve patriarchs, who give their names to the twelve Tribes of Israel. On the right shoulder are inscribed the elder sons of Jacob, the younger on the left; in order that the high-priest, as he enters the Holy of Holies, may bear upon his shoulders the names of the people for the which he is about to entreat the Lord.

The seventh vestment is small in size, but more holy than all those above mentioned. Give me your especial attention now, for the better understanding of what I say. It is called in Hebrew HOSEN, in Greek λῆγιον. We ourselves may call it the “Rational,” that the very name may at once point to a mystical meaning. It is a small piece of cloth, woven in gold and four colours, the same as the ephod. It is square, and of a palm’s breadth each way, and made double for greater strength. Into it were fastened twelve precious stones of great size, and very costly, in four rows, three stones to each line. On the top line were a sardine stone, a topaz, and an emerald. Symmachus differs as regards the “emerald,” which he renders “*ceraunius*.” On the second line, a carbuncle, sapphire, and jasper. On the third, lyncurium, agate, and amethyst. On the fourth, a chrysolite, an onyx, and a beryl. I greatly wonder that so precious a stone as the jacinth has here no place. But perhaps the lyncurium is but another name for it. I have examined treatises on precious stones and gems, but have found no mention²⁶ of the lyncurium. On these several stones are engraved the names of the tribes according to the ages of the patriarchs. We read (Ezek. xxviii.) of these stones on the diadem of the Prince of Tyre, and in the Revelation of John (Rev. xxi.), where they form the walls of

principis Tyri, et in Apocalypsi Joannis legimus, de quibus exstruitur cœlestis Jerusaleme: et sub horum nominibus et specie, virtutum vel ordo, vel diversitas indicatur. Per quattuor Rationalis angulos, quattuor annuli sunt aurei, habentes contra se in Superhumerali alios quattuor: ut quum appositum fuerit *λόγιον* in loco, quem in Ephod diximus derelictum, anulus veniat contra anulum, et mutuo sibi vittis copulentur hiacynthinis. Porro ne magnitudo et pondus lapidum contexta stamina rumperet, auro ligati sunt atque conclusi: nec sufficit hoc ad firmitatem, nisi et catenæ ex auro fierent, quæ ob pulchritudinem fistulis aureis tegerentur,²⁷ haberentque et in Rationali suprâ duos majores anulos, qui uncinis Superhumeralis aureis necerentur, et deorsum alios duos: nam post tergum in Superhumerali contra pectus et stomachum, ex utroque latere erant anuli aurei, qui catenis cum Rationalis inferioribus anulis jungebantur: atque ita fiebat, ut astringeretur et Rationale Superhumerali, et Superhumerales Rationali, ut una textura contra videntibus putaretur.

Octava est lumina aurea, id est, SIS ZAAB (צִיץ זָהָב), in qua scriptum est nomen Dei Hebraicis quattuor litteris JOD, HE, VAV, HE (יהוה), quod apud illos ineffabile nuncupatur. Hæc super pileolum lineum commune omnium Sacerdotum, in Pontifice plus additur, ut in fronte vitta hiacynthina constringatur, totamque Pontificis pulchritudinem Dei vocabulum coronet et protegat.

Didicimus quæ vel communia cum Sacerdotibus, vel quæ specialia Pontificis vestimenta sint: et si tanta difficultas fuit in vasis fictilibus,²⁸ quanta majestas erit in thesauro, qui intrinsecus latet! Dicamus igitur prius quod ab Hebræis accepimus: et juxta morem nostrum, spiritualis postea intelligentiæ vela pandamus. . . .

²⁷ In Josephus *σύριγγις*. But his description here differs somewhat from that of S. Jerome. See above, p. 5.

²⁸ In *vasis fictilibus*. He alludes, of course,

to 2 Cor. iv. 7, where the Vulgate is, "*Habemus autem thesaurum istum in vasis fictilibus ut sublimitas sit virtutis Dei et non ex nobis.*"

the heavenly Jerusalem; and under their names and species are suggested the order and diverse nature of the several virtues. Through the four corners of the Rational are inserted four golden rings, having four others on the ephod just opposite to them; so that when the *λόγιον* is fitted to the place which I have described as left open in the ephod, ring may be over against ring, and be fastened together with bands of blue. Moreover, the stones were fastened together with a setting of gold, for fear that from their size and weight the web to which they are attached should give way. Nor would this have been sufficient security, had not chains of gold been made (covered, for greater beauty, with small cylinders²⁷ of gold), having two larger rings on the upper part of the Rational (to be attached to the golden hooks of the ephod), and two others on the lower part. For, on the back of the ephod, at a height to correspond with the breast and lower part of the throat, there were golden rings on either side, joined by chains to the lower rings of the Rational; and so it was that the Rational was closely fastened to the ephod, the ephod to the Rational, in such manner as to appear to the spectator as if they were all of one piece.

Eighth in order was the plate of gold, *SIS ZAAB*, on which was inscribed the name of God in the four Hebrew letters Yod, He, Vav, He, "The unutterable Name," as they declare it. This is added in the case of the high-priest over and above the linen cap common to all the priests. It is attached to his forehead with a fastening band of blue. And so the Divine Name is as a crown and protection to the whole of that "fair beauty" with which the high-priest is clad.

We have now learnt what robes the high-priest has in common with the priests, and what specially appropriated to himself. And if we had so much of difficulty in speaking of "earthen vessels"²⁸ what majesty shall there be in the treasure that lies concealed within! First, then, let me say what I have learnt on this matter from Hebrew authors, and after that, as our wont is, we may spread open the sails of spiritual interpretation.

[Here follows, at some length, the mystical meaning attributed by the Jews to all the details already given. The four colours represent the four elements—earth, air, fire and water; the pomegranates and bells mean the thunder and lightning, or else the harmony of all the elements. The ephod, and its two precious

Tetigimus expositionem Hebraicam, et infinitam sensuum sylvam alteri tempori reservantes, quædam futuræ domus stravimus fundamenta.²⁹ Legimus in Levitico, juxta præceptum Dei, Moysem lavisse Aaron et filios ejus: jam tunc purgationem mundi, et rerum omnium, sanctitatem Baptismi, sacramenta signabant. Non accipiunt vestes, nisi lotis prius fordibus, nec ornantur ad sacra, nisi in Christo novi homines renascantur. Vinum enim novum in novis utribus mittitur. Quòd autem Moyse lavat, legis indicium est. Habent Moyse et Prophetas, ipsos audiant. Et ab Adam usque ad Moyse omnes peccaverunt. Præceptis Dei lavandi sumus, et quum parati ad indumentum Christi tunicas pelliceas depofuerimus,³⁰ tunc induemur veste linea, nihil in sese mortis habente, sed tota candida:³¹ ut de baptismo confurgentes, cingamus lumbos in veritate, et tota pristinorum peccatorum turpitudine celetur. Unde et David: *Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata*. Post feminalia et lineam tunicam induimur hiacynthino vestimento,³² et incipimus de terrenis ad alta conscendere. Hæc ipsa hiacynthina tunica, à Septuaginta ὑποδύτης, id est, subucula nominatur, et propriè Pontificis est, significatque rationem sublimium non patere omnibus, sed majoribus

²⁹ *Quædam futuræ domus stravimus fundamenta*; i.e. he had prepared the way for his own mystical application.

³⁰ He takes up here the thought, alluded to as we have seen, by Philo (p. 8), that garments of animal origin (whether of fur or of wool) favour of mortality and corruption. Hence the expression of the text is equivalent to the ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, "stripping off the old humanity" of St. Paul (Col. iii. 9).

³¹ *Sed tota candida*. On the meaning of *candidus*, see above note 19. The allusion is here to the white garments worn by the newly baptized.

³² *Vestimento hiacynthino*. In speaking of the Jewish mystical interpretation of this colour, "*the foundation for his own building*," he had noticed that to them this "hiacynth blue," was significant of the sky. Hence what he here says. So again below, *cidaris et vitia hyacinthina cælum monstrant*.

stones, are the two hemispheres, whereof one is above and the other below the earth. The girdle is the ocean. The rational (or breast-plate) the earth. The general result is described by S. Jerome as being this, that God's high-priest bearing upon his vestments the typical representation of all created things, should show how all creatures stand in need of the mercy of God, and that, in sacrificing unto Him, expiation might be for the state of the entire universe, and that he might pray, both by voice and by the dress he bare, not for children, and parents, and kinsmen only, but for all creation.³³ He then proceeds as follows]:—

I have now touched upon the exposition of these things given by the Jews, and while reserving for another opportunity an infinite number of mystical meanings, have laid something of a foundation for the building that is to be.²⁹ . . . We read in Leviticus that, according to God's commandment, Moses washed Aaron and his sons. So even at that early time there were sacramental acts signifying the purifying of the world and of all created things, and the sanctity of baptism. They receive not their robes till they have washed off the filth of the flesh, nor are they adorned for holy rites, except they be born again as new men in Christ. For new wine is put in new bottles (*utribus* — *ὑποδαρτησιν*). And in that it is Moses who washeth them, this pointeth to the law, "*They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them,*" and, "*From Adam even unto Moses all sinned.*" It is by God's commandments that we are to be washed clean, and when, being made ready for the garment of Christ, we shall have laid aside our garments made of skins,³⁰ then shall we be clad in the linen robe which hath in it nothing which is of death, but is wholly bright and pure,³¹ that so rising up from our baptism we may gird up our loins with truth and all the deformity of former sins be put out of sight. Whence also David saith, "*Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered.*" After the drawers and the linen tunic, we put upon us a vestment of blue,³² and begin to mount up from things on earth to things above. This very tunic of blue is called by the Seventy *ὑποδαρτης*, that is, "undergarment," and belongs properly to the high-priest; and it signifieth that the meaning of the higher things of God lies not open to all, but only to those somewhat advanced in the Christian life, or who

³³ Compare the passage of Philo to the same effect, given above, p. 8.

atque perfectis.³⁴ Hanc habuerunt Moyses et Aaron et Prophetæ, et omnes quibus dicitur: *In montem excelsum ascende tu, qui evangelizas Sion.* Nec sufficit nobis priorum ablutio peccatorum, baptismi gratia, doctrina secretior, nisi habuerimus et opera. Unde jungitur et Ephod, id est, Superhumeralis,³⁵ quod Rationali copulatur: ut non sit laxum, neque dissolutum, sed hæreant sibi invicem et auxilio sint. Ratio³⁶ enim operibus, et opera ratione indigent: ut quod mente percipimus, opere perpetremus. Duoque lapides in Superhumerali, vel Christum significant et Ecclesiam, duodecim Apostolorum, qui ad prædicationem missi sunt, nomina continentes: vel litteram et spiritum, in quibus continentur legis universa mysteria. In dextra spiritus, in læva littera est. Per litteras ad verba descendimus, per verba venimus ad sensum. Quàm pulcher ordo, et ex ipso habitu sacramenta demonstrans. In humeris opera sunt, in pectore ratio.³⁶ Unde et pectusculum comedunt sacerdotes. Hoc autem Rationale duplex est,³⁷ apertum et absconditum, simplex et mysticum, duodecim in se lapides habens, et quattuor ordines, quos quattuor puto esse virtutes, prudentiam, fortitudinem, justitiam et temperantiam, quæ sibi hærent invicem: et dum mutuo miscentur, duodenarium efficiunt numerum: vel quattuor Evangelia, quæ in Apocalypsi describuntur plena oculis, et Domini luce radiantia mundum illuminant. In uno quattuor, et in quattuor singula. Unde *δῆλωσις* et *ἀλήθεια*, id est, doctrina et veritas in pectore,³⁸ Sacerdotis est. Quum enim indutus quis fuerit veste multiplici, consequens est, veritatem quam corde retinet, sermone proferre: et ob id in rationali veritas est, id est, scientia, ut noverit quæ docenda sint: et manifestatio atque doctrina, ut possit instruere alios, quod mente concepit. Ubi sunt qui innocentiam Sacerdoti dicunt posse sufficere?³⁹ Vetus lex novæ congruit: id ipsum Moyses quod Apostolus. Ille sacerdotis scientiam ornat in vestibus: iste Timotheum et Titum instruit disciplina. Sed et ipse vestimentorum ordo præcipuus. Legamus Levi-

³⁴ *Majoribus atque perfectis.* *Majoribus* has reference (as elsewhere to growth in years, so here) to growth in grace. For *perfectus* = *τέλειος*, 'full-grown,' see "Eirenika," note 68, p. 120.

³⁵ The shoulder and arm, he means, are naturally associated with ideas of activity, and so of good works.

³⁶ *Ratio* (Reason and Understanding) used in reference to "*Rationale*," the word used throughout for the *λόγιον*, the "breastplate" of our English Version.

³⁷ It was made *duplex* *ne facile rumpetur*, as he had said above.

³⁸ To the Romans not the head but the breast (or the heart) was the seat of the understanding. "*Non tu corpus eras sine pectore.*" "*Rudis et sine pectore miles.*"

³⁹ *i.e.* that it mattereth not greatly that he have knowledge. As to the meaning of *sacerdos* (bishop, as well as priest), see Index in *voc.*

have attained unto fulness of growth. With this garment were clad Moses, and Aaron, and the prophets, and all they to whom that word is spoken, "*Ascend up unto the lofty mountain, thou that bringest glad tidings to Sion.*" (Isa. xl. 9.) But the washing away of sins, the grace of baptism, the more hidden knowledge, these are not sufficient for us, unless we have also (good) works, and therefore there is joined to those other vestments the ephod, that is, the "Superhumeral,"³⁵ which again is so coupled to the ("Rational") breastplate, that it may not be loose nor unattached, but that both may be closely joined and be a mutual help each to other. For reason³⁶ needeth works, and works need reason; that so what we mentally perceive we may by works carry out in act. And the two stones upon the ephod signify, either Christ and the Church (as containing the names of the twelve apostles who were sent to the preaching of the Gospel), or the letter and the spirit, wherein are contained all the mysteries of the law. On the right is the spirit; on the left is the letter. Through letters we reach unto words: through words we come to meaning. How beautiful is the order, showing forth sacramental truths even by the very dress of which we speak. On the shoulders are (good) works: on the breast reason. For which cause the priests have the breast (of the sacrifice) to eat. But this Rational is two-fold,³⁷ open and yet hidden; simple, and yet mystical; having upon it twelve stones, and four rows, which I hold to be four virtues, viz. wisdom, courage, justice, temperance, which are closely united one unto the other, and by their mutual conjunction produce a duodecimal number. Or else they may be the four Gospels, which in the Apocalypse are described as full of eyes, and which, beaming with the light of the Lord, enlighten the whole world. In one, the four; and in the four each and all the separate parts. And, therefore, *δηλώσις* and *ἀλήθεια*, "manifestation" and "truth," are on the breast³⁸ of the priest. For when a man hath been clad in the manifold vesture, it followeth that he express in word the truth which he holdeth in his heart. And therefore in the Rational there is "truth," that is "knowledge," that he may know what is to be taught, and "manifestation" and "doctrine" that he may be able to instruct others of that which his own reason hath comprehended. Where are they that say that it sufficeth for a priest³⁹ that he be of innocent life? The old law agreeth with the new; Moses was in the one, what the Apostle was in the other.

ticum. Non prius Rationale, et sic Superhumerales, sed ante Superhumerales, et deinceps Rationale. *A mandatis tuis*, inquit, *intellexi*: prius faciamus, et sic doceamus: ne doctrinæ auctoritas cassis operibus destruat. Hoc est quod in Propheta legimus: *Seminate vobis in iustitia, et metite fructum vitæ: illuminate vobis lumen scientiæ*. Primum seminate in iustitia, et fructum vitæ æternæ metite: postea vobis scientiam vindicate. Nec statim absoluta perfectio est, si quis Superhumerales et Rationale habeat: ⁴⁰ nisi hæc ipsa inter se forti compagine solidentur, et sibi invicem connexa sint: ut et operatio rationi et ratio operibus hæreat: et his præcedentibus, doctrina sequatur et veritas.

Lamina aurea rutilat in fronte: nihil enim nobis prodest omnium rerum eruditio, nisi Dei scientia coronemur. Lineis induimur, ornatur hyacinthinis, sacro baltheo cingimur, dantur nobis opera, Rationale in pectore ponitur: accipimus veritatem, profert sermo doctrinam: imperfecta sunt universa, nisi tam decoro curru dignus quærat auriga, et super creaturas creator insistens, regat ipse quæ condidit. Quod olim in lamina monstrabatur, ⁴¹ nunc in signo ostenditur crucis. ⁴² Auro legis sanguis Evangelii pretiosior est. ⁴³ Tunc signum juxta Ezechielis vocem gementibus figebatur in fronte: nunc portantes crucem dicimus: *Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui Domine*. . . ⁴⁴

Jam sermo finitur, et ad superiora retrahor. Tanta debet esse

⁴⁰ "Both ephod and breastplate," i.e. both good works and knowledge.

⁴¹ i.e. "Holiness unto the Lord." See above, Note 15.

⁴² i.e. the sign of the cross traced upon the forehead in baptism, putting, as it were, Christ's mark thereon, and declaring the

newly-baptized to be "Holy unto the Lord."

⁴³ The sign of the cross carries our thoughts to the precious blood thereon shed, called by St. Paul, τὸ αἷμα τοῦ σταυροῦ.

⁴⁴ Quæ sequuntur de feminalibus apud ipsum requirant eruditi lectores. Virgineis Fabiolæ oculis parum apta videntur.

For Moses deviseth "knowledge" among the vestments of the priests; Paul furnisheth Titus and Timothy with "Doctrine." But the very order of the vestments is noteworthy. Let us read Leviticus. It is not, first, the rational, and after that the ephod; but, first, the ephod, and afterward the rational. "*From thy commandments,*" saith one, "*have I got understanding.*" (Ps. cxix. 104.) Let *doing* be first in order with us, and so let us go on to teaching, lest the authority of our teaching be done away by the worthlessness of that we work. This is that we read in the Prophet (Hos. x. 12), "*Sow your seed in righteousness, and reap the fruit of life; Kindle ye for you the light of knowledge.*" First sow in righteousness, and reap the fruit of life; afterward claim knowledge as your own. Yet fulness of Christian growth is not then at once completely attained when one hath both ephod and breastplate; unless these two be firmly compacted one unto the other, and in such wise mutually connected, that both our working of that which is good be close joined to reason, and reason close joined to works; and that, while these lead the way, doctrine and truth follow.

[He then defers further explanation concerning the twelve stones of the breastplate, saying that his letter is already too long, and adding a few further particulars, he says:]

A plate of gold glitters on the forehead, for learning the most universal is nothing worth unto us, unless we be crowned with the knowledge of God. We are clothed in linen, we are adorned with the vestments of celestial blue, we are girt about with the sacred belt, works are given unto us, the rational is put upon our breast, we accept the truth, our words bring forth doctrine—all these together are imperfect, unless for so fair an equipage a fitting guide be found, and the Creator, set on high above His creatures, Himself direct that which He hath made. What in old times was shown upon the golden plate is now set forth in the sign of the Cross. The gold of the law is less precious than the Blood of the Gospel. In those former times, according to that word of Ezekiel (Ezek. ix. 4), a mark was put upon the brow of them that mourned; but now we that bear the cross (upon our foreheads) say, "The light of thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us."

And now my discourse is drawing to a close, and I return to that of which I was speaking above. Such should be the knowledge

scientia et eruditio Pontificis⁴⁵ Dei, ut et gressus ejus, et motus, et univēsa vocalia sint. Veritatem mente concipiat, et toto eam habitu refonet et ornatu: ut quidquid agit, quidquid loquitur, sit doctrina populorum. Absque tintinnabulis enim et diversis coloribus et gemmis floribusque virtutum, nec Sancta ingredi potest, nec nomen Antistitis⁴⁶ possidere.

⁴⁵ *Pontificis*. *Pontifex* is literally a "bridge-maker," γεφυροποιός, as the Greek writers sometimes translate it. And the following quotation will suggest the origin of the term: "The Tiber was the natural highway for the traffic of Latium; and . . . formed from very ancient times the frontier defence of the Latin stock against their northern neighbours. . . . Rome combined the advantages of a strong position, and of immediate vicinity to the river; it commanded both banks of the stream down to the mouth. . . . That Rome was indebted accordingly, if not for its origin, at any rate for its importance, to these commercial and strategical advantages of its position, there are many indications to show. . . . Thence arose the unusual importance of the bridges over the Tiber, and of bridge-building generally, in the Roman commonwealth. Thence came the galley in the city arms." MÖMSEN, *History of Rome*, book i. cap. iv. Bearing in mind how in ancient times all matters of grave import to the state were invested with the sanctions of religion, we shall not wonder to find the construction and care of these bridges placed under the superintendence of

that College of Magistrates (not *priests* in our sense of the word) which from the very beginning of Roman history was supreme in all matters pertaining to religion. With this body of sacerdotal "Bridgemakers," with the first citizen of the Republic, or, as in later times, an emperor, at their head (as *Pontifex Maximus*), we may compare our own "Trinity Board," with a prince of the blood as "Master." [The parallel might be extended, *inexperto si fas ita dicere*, in respect of the *Pontificum cœnæ* and the Greenwich banquets.]

The Christian use of the term is owing mainly to St. Jerome's version of the Bible. From the 5th century onwards, the use of *Pontifex* as = *sacerdos* (Note 61), or bishop, and of *Pontifex summus* as = *archbishop*, or metropolitan, became very common. In earlier writers it is very rare; and in the older Italic version we find *sacerdos* or *summus sacerdos* where St. Jerome (writing at Rome) speaks of *Pontifex*, or *Pontifex summus*. [For the term *Pontifex Maximus*, which has a special meaning of its own, see Index of Notes.]

and the learning of one chief⁴⁵ in holy ministry to God, as that his walk and movement, and everything about him shall be vocal to the ears of men. With his mind let him embrace the truth, and in all his habit and adornment cause it to sound forth to others; that whatsoever he doeth, whatsoever he speaketh, may be for instruction unto all men. For without the bells, and the divers colours, and the gems, and the flowers of divers virtues, he can neither enter the Holy of Holies, nor make his own the name of one chief⁴⁶ among God's servants.

⁴⁵ *Antistes* (*ante-stes* — compare the Greek *προ-στάτης*), properly one in foremost place, and hence occasionally used by classical writers of heathen priests (*sacrorum antistes*, Cic. and Juv. *antistes Jovis* Nep. and the fem. *antistita*

Phæbi, Ov.) and frequently in Christian literature of bishops. Hence, in later Latin, the forms *antistitium* = *sacerdotium*, and *antistitari* = *episcopum agere*.

V.

S. JEROME.

EPISTLE TO MARCELLA CONCERNING THE
EPHOD WORN BY SAMUEL.

[WRITTEN AT ROME, A.D. 384.]

[WISHING to explain how it was that, while the “ephod” or *superhumerales* is properly a garment of the high-priest alone, we yet read of Samuel, and of the priests at Nob, wearing an ephod, and of David, in one place, doing likewise, he says that these ephods were of linen only, and white.]

“*Propterea autem Samuel et octoginta quinque viri sacerdotes ephod lineum portasse referuntur, quoniam sacerdos magnus solus habebat licentiam ephod non-lineo vestiendi, verum, ut Scriptura commemorat, auro, hyacintho, purpura, cocco, byssoque, contexto. Cæteri habebant ephod non illa varietate distinctum et duodecim lapidibus ornatum, qui in humero utroque residebant: sed lineum et simplex et toto candore purissimum.*”

“The reason why Samuel, and the eighty-five priests are said to have worn an ephod of *linen*, is this, that the high-priest alone had the right to wear an ephod made, not of linen, but, as the Scripture records, made of gold, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen. All the rest had an ephod,⁴⁷ not varied in colour like to this, nor ornamented with the twelve stones of the breastplate, but of linen and unadorned, and most pure in the perfection of its brilliant whiteness.”

⁴⁷ This difficulty about the ephod of David and of Samuel has often been noticed by modern writers. The solution of the difficulty is, no doubt, that which S. Jerome (as, nearer our own times, Lightfoot) suggests,

viz. that the term ephod was originally a general term for an upper garment of a peculiar shape: the ephod, peculiar to the high-priest, being distinguished from other ephods by its material, colour, and insignia.

VI.

S. JEROME.

ON EZEKIEL XLIV.

[VOL. III. 1028, fqq.]

[HE is commenting on the words that occur ver. 17, fqq. : which are as follows :

“When they enter the gates of the inner court, they shall be clothed with garments of linen : and nothing that is of wool shall come upon them when they minister at the gates of the inner court, and further within. Bands of linen shall be upon their heads,⁴⁸ and they shall have linen drawers upon their loins ; they shall not gird themselves with that which causeth sweat.⁴⁹ And when they go forth out of the outer court unto the people they shall put off the garments⁵⁰ wherein they had ministered, and shall replace them in the treasuries of the sanctuary, and shall put on other garments, and they shall not sanctify the people with their ministering garments. But their heads they shall not shave, nor yet let their hair grow long ; but they shall poll their heads ; neither shall any priest drink wine when he is about to enter into the inner court.”

Upon this he comments as follows :]

In the first place, I must explain the words here recorded. Among other precepts given by the Word of the Lord to the priests this is one, that at the very gates of the inner court they shall put

⁴⁸ S. Jerome here gives as an alternative rendering, “*They shall have linen caps (cidares) upon their heads.*”

⁴⁹ Here, too, as an alternative rendering (for in *sudore*) *violenter*.

⁵⁰ *Stolas* in the text. In the LXX. *στολή* is used either (α) as a generic term for the entire vesture of the priest, considered as a whole, or (β) (generally in the plural *στολαι*) of particular vestments spoken of as portions of that whole. And this double use of *στολή*

is reproduced, in the use of *stola*, first in the Latin versions, and secondly in the early Christian writers. From the usage here noticed, two others require to be distinguished : (γ) the *classical* use, according to which *stola* was particularly used of the long robe, edged with the *infrita*, characteristic of the Roman matron ; and (δ) the *later Christian usage*, discussed in the Introduction, according to which *stola*, like our own “stole,” is the equivalent of *orarium*.

on garments, that is, sacred robes, of linen, and use no under garments of wool, either in the gates of the inner court, or yet farther within, that is in the Holy and the Most Holy Place; and, again, that bands, or caps of linen, be on their heads, and linen drawers upon their loins. . . . And as he had once already prescribed what vestments were to be worn by the priests when engaged in their ministries within, he now again enjoins that when they go forth they shall put off their former vestments in the treasuries or side-chambers of the Holy Place, and put on others; lest by retaining the holy garments they should sanctify the people who stand without, who have not as yet been sanctified, nor made themselves ready for the sanctification of the Temple, so as to be Nazarites unto the Lord. ⁵¹ By all this we learn that we, too, ought not to enter into the Holy of Holies in our every-day garments, just such as we please, when they have become defiled from the use of ordinary life, but with a clean conscience, and in clean garments, hold in our hands the Sacraments of the Lord.⁵¹ As for what follows, "*Their heads they shall not shave, nor suffer their locks to grow long, but polling they shall poll their heads,*" by this it is clearly shown that we ought not to have shaven heads like the priests and worshippers of Isis and Serapis, nor yet, on the other hand, to wear long, flowing hair, which is for the luxurious only, for barbarians or men of the sword; but in such wise that the seemly habit of priests may be set forth in our very outward features. But in place of what I have quoted, the LXX. say, "*Their heads they shall not shave, and their hair they shall not closely poll, but a covering shall they have upon their heads.*" And according to this we learn that we are not to make a baldness upon our heads with a razor, nor to cut the hair of the head so closely⁵² that we shall look as though we were shaven, but to let the hair grow long enough to cover the skin. Or it may be simply that priests ought always to put a covering on their heads, according to that line of Virgil, "*With purple amice covered o'er, veil thou thy locks.*" But this is a forced interpretation. But wine is not to be drunk by priests and Levites, and this not only in the time of their

⁵¹ The original is as follows: *Per quæ dif-
cimus non quotidianis et quibuslibet pro usu vitæ
communis pollutis vestibus, nos ingredi debere in
Sanctia Sanctorum, sed munda conscientia et mun-
dis vestibus tenere Domini sacramenta.*

⁵² Note this passage as proving clearly that in St. Jerome's time, "the tonsure" was, a Rome, at any rate, unknown as a mark of the Christian priest.

ministration, but even (beforehand) when they are about to enter into the Holy of Holies, lest the mind become oppressed, and the senses dulled. Hence that of the Apostle,—“*It is good,*” saith he, “*not to drink wine nor to eat flesh.*” And in another place: “*And wine, wherein is excess.*” “*For the people did eat, and drink, and rose up to play.*” (1 Cor. x. 7.) And for that of his allowing Timothy to drink a little wine, he showed plainly why he allowed this. “*For thy stomach’s sake,*” he says, “*and for thine often infirmities.*” Garments of linen are used by the Egyptian priests, not only inside their temples, but without also. ⁵³Moreover, the religion that is of God has one dress for holy ministry, another for the usage of common life.⁵³ Drawers (of linen) are rightly put on, that seemliness and propriety may be maintained, lest when they ascend the steps of the altar (Exod. xx. 26), and hasten to and fro in the work of their ministry there be any unseemly exposure. Heathen superstition has its shaven heads. But as far as my knowledge goes, I do not think that any heathen abstains from wine.

The spiritual meaning of all this will be seen by what follows. That there are garments holy and spiritual the Apostle himself teaches us, saying, “*Put ye on*” (“*clothe yourselves with*”) “*the Lord Jesus Christ.*” And elsewhere, “*Put ye on bowels of mercy, of goodness, of humility, of gentleness, of patience.*” And again, “*Having stripped off the old man, together with his deeds, and having put on the new man which is renewed unto (fulness of) knowledge after the likeness of the Creator.*” [He then quotes 1 Cor. xv. 54, saying that this, too, appears to him to have a similar reference.] As to the priestly vestments there is a full account in Exodus, and I myself once wrote a book on the subject, to which and the interpretation there given the enquiring reader may be referred. For the subject is too wide a one to be embraced within the compass of a short discourse. These vestments we make for ourselves by our own exertion, even such a garment (*tunicam*) as the Lord had, and which could not be rent.

⁵³ The original is as follows: *Porro religio divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitæque communi.* It is doubtful whether, by *religio divina*, St. Jerome refers to Jewish or to Christian observances. The reference to the *feminalia linea* that immediately follows seems to show that *Sirmondus* (quoted later in this work) was right in

supposing him to speak here of Jewish observances. Most writers on ritual, quoting the passage without its context, have assumed the exact contrary, as though there were no doubt at all about the matter. [As a matter of controversy it matters little which of the two be really referred to, or whether both, as I believe.]

And these vestments we put on when we come to the knowledge of the secret and hidden things of God, and have that spirit that searcheth even the deep and profound things of God, things not to be set forth before the people, nor brought before the eyes of them that are not sanctified, nor made ready for the holiness of the Lord; lest haply if they hear things beyond their capacity, they be unable to endure the greatness of such knowledge, and be choked, as it were, with this "strong meat," whereas they had need still to be fed with milk. . . . As for that which follows, "*Bands (vittæ) or caps (cidares) of linen shall be on their heads,*" this, I think, points to the festive crown of grace, of which it is written (Prov. iv. 9), "A crown⁵⁴ of grace shall be set on thine head." Nor need we find difficulty in those words of the Apostle concerning the covering, or the leaving bare, the head. "*A woman,*" he saith, "*ought to have a covering upon her head because of the angels. For if a woman will not be thus covered, then let her cut close her hair. But if it be a shame unto a woman that her hair be close cut or shorn, then let her cover (her head). For the man ought not to cover his head, seeing he is the image and glory of God. But the woman is the glory of the man (or "of her husband.")*" For if it be not proper for men to cover the head, it might be thought inconsistent with this that the priests are here bidden to cover their heads with caps or bonnets. But if we read somewhat more carefully, the words that preceded will solve the difficulty of those now before us. For it is said above, "*When they minister in the gates of the inner court and yet farther within*" (i.e. in the Holy Place.) For if we enter in to the Holy Place and stand before the face of the Lord, we ought to cover our heads: ⁵⁵ "*For in the sight of the Lord shall no flesh living be justified.*" (Ps. cxlii. 2.) And, "*Even from a child man's heart is set upon*

⁵⁴ *Coronam enim gratiarum suscipiet tuus vertex.* It is hardly necessary, probably, to point out that our modern word "crown," is generally suggestive (in the English version of the Bible, for example) of an entirely different idea to that suggested to classical readers by *corona*, or by the corresponding Greek word *στέφανος*. In classical, and in early Christian usage, these words are expressive of the *chaplet* (of whatever materials) worn by persons of all classes on festive occasions, worn by priests (and priestesses) in honour of particular deities,

by victors in the circus or the like, or by triumphant soldiers. The distinctive word for the crown of royalty is *διάδημα* (*diadema*). But it may be well to mention that in later Christian writers, as we shall see as we proceed, the word *corona* is occasionally used, as our own "crown," with reference to insignia of royalty.

⁵⁵ "We ought to cover our heads," i.e. in self-abasement, as conscious of our own unworthiness, of which he proceeds to speak.

wickedness." (Gen. viii. 21.) Then, lastly, we wear inwardly a vesture about our loins, left, in the presence of God, aught of unseemliness appear, belonging to a polluted conscience, or to that which pertaineth unto married life. With such under-garments the Saviour would have His Apostles girt when He saith, "*Let your loins be girded, and burning lights be in your hands.*" (Luke, xii. 35.) And the Apostle saith unto the faithful, "*Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about in truth.*" (Eph. vi. 14.) And to the followers of Christ doth that apply which is written concerning Christ Himself, "*Righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and with the truth shall his sides be clothed.*" (Isa. xi. 5.) And with this girdle that is here spoken of, he that is holy, and hath attained unto the height (*culmen*) of all virtue, doth not bind himself "violently."⁵⁶

⁵⁶ See above, note 49.

VII.

S. JEROME.

WHITE GARMENTS WORN IN OFFICES OF
CHRISTIAN MINISTRATION.

I, A
ADVERSUS PELAGIANOS, LIB. I. VOL. IV. p. 502.

[AFTER speaking of the pretences made by the Pelagians to something approaching to a direct revelation of Divine Truth, he adds] :—

“*Nec hoc sufficit, sed repente mutaris in Stoicum, et de Zenonis nobis tonas supercilio, Christianum illius debere esse patientiæ ut si quis sua auferre voluerit gratanter amittat. Nonne nobis satis est patienter perdere quod habemus, nisi violento atque raptori agamus gratias, et cum cunctis benedictionibus prosequamur? Docet Evangelium ei qui nobiscum velit iudicio contendere, et per lites ac jurgia auferre tunicam, etiam pallium esse concedendum: non præcipit ut agamus gratias, et læti nostra perdamus. Hoc dico, non quod aliquid sceleris in hac sententia sit, sed quod ubique ὑπερβολικῶς mediocria transeas et magna secleris. Unde adjungis gloriam vestium et ornamentorum Deo esse contrariam. Quæ sunt, rogo, inimicitiae contra Deum si tunicam habuero mundiorem: ⁵⁷ si Episcopus, Presbyter, et Diaconus, et reliquus ordo Ecclesiasticus, in administratione sacrificiorum candida veste procefferint? Cavete Clerici, cavete Monachi: viduæ et virgines periclitamini, nisi sordidas vos atque pannosas vulgus aspexerit. Taceo de hominibus sæculi quibus aperte bellum indicitur, et inimicitiae contra Deum si preciosis atque nitentibus utantur exuviis.*”

“Even this does not content you. You turn stoic of a sudden, and thunder against us with all the sternness of a Zeno, and declare that a Christian should be so patient as to rejoice in losing whatsoever any man may choose to take from him. Is it not enough, then, for us to submit

⁵⁷ *Mundiorem.* *Mundus* as applied to clothing has a primary reference to cleanliness, but is often used with a secondary implication of the seemly beauty that belongs to garments

bright and pure. So Livy speaks of a *cultus iusto mundior*—an over-elegance of personal attire.

patiently to loss of what is ours, unless we thank him who with violence has robbed us, and follow him with every expression of blessing? The Gospel teaches, it is true, that to one who would contend with us at law, and rob us of our under garment we should give up our outer garment also, but it bids us not express gratitude to the wrongdoer, and show gladness at the loss of our goods. I mention this, not as though there were anything criminal in your holding such an opinion, but because in everything alike you are actuated by the same spirit of exaggeration, and without thought or regard for any moderate course, are ever aiming at great things. Hence you go on to say that all splendour of dress or ornament is offensive unto God. But I would fain know what offence there would be against God in my wearing a somewhat handsome⁵⁷ tunic; *or if, in the administration of the Holy Things, Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, and the other officers of the Church, come forward dressed in white garments.* Beware ye that are of the Clergy, beware ye Monks: and you too, widows and virgins, are in peril, unless you appear in public in squalid habit and in rags. I say nothing of men of the world, against whom war is thus openly proclaimed, and who are accused as enemies of God if they wear costly or splendid garments."

VIII.

HEGESIPPVS.⁵⁸LINEN VESTMENTS SAID TO HAVE BEEN WORN
BY JAMES THE BROTHER OF THE LORD.

APUD S. HIERONYMUM, IN CATALOGO SCRIPT. ECCLES.

JACOBUS qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus, ut nonnulli existimant Joseph ex alia uxore, ut autem mihi videtur Mariæ fororis matris Domini, cujus Johannes in libro suo meminit, filius, post passionem Domini statim ab Apostolis Ierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus, unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quæ de septem Catholicis est, quæ et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur: licet paulatim tempore præcedente obtinuerit auctoritatem. Hegesippus, vicinus Apostolicorum temporum, in quinto commentariorum libro de Jacobo narrans ait: *Suscepit ecclesiam Ierosolymorum post Apostolos frater Domini Jacobus, cognomento Justus. Multi siquidem Jacobi vocabantur. Hic de utero matris sanctus fuit, vinum et siceram non bibit, carnem nullam comedit, nunquam attonsus est nec unctus unguento, nec usus balneo. Huic soli licitum erat ingredi Sancta Sanctorum. Siquidem vestibibus lineis non utebatur sed lineis, solusque ingrediebatur Templum, et flexis genibus pro populo deprecabatur: intantum ut camelorum duritiem traxisse ejus genua crederentur.*

“The government of the Church of Jerusalem was committed, after the Apostles, to James, the brother of the Lord, surnamed ‘*The Just*,’ there being many then who bore the name of James. He was holy from his mother’s womb: he drank neither wine nor strong drink, ate no flesh-meat, never cut close the hair of his head, nor anointed himself with unguents, nor used the bath. To him alone was it allowable to enter the Holy of Holies, seeing that he wore garments made, not of wool, but of linen; and he was wont to enter

⁵⁸ Hegesippus, a Jew converted to Christianity, died circa A.D. 180. Only fragments of his works have been preserved.

the Temple alone, and on bended knees to entreat God on behalf of His people; infomuch that men believed that his knees had grown hard, even as are the knees of a camel."⁵⁹

⁵⁹ In judging of the historical references to be drawn from this statement we must remember, first, that we have not the *ipsissima verba* of Hegesippus, but a Latin translation of his words by S. Jerome. We cannot, therefore, now tell whether the *Sancta Sanctorum* of S. Jerome represents τὰ ἁγία simply (which might mean only "the Sanctuary," as a somewhat vague designation), or ἁγία ἁγίων, which could only mean "The Most Holy Place," entered once in the year by the high-priest alone.

And so again of that "*Templum ingrediebatur*," we cannot now say whether the original spoke of τὸν ναόν, or of τὸ ἱερόν. The former would imply the actual building (made up of "the Holy" and "the Most Holy" Place). The latter term includes the whole sacred enclosure, with its many subordinate buildings.

However this be, it would be contrary to all historical probability that St. James, the head of the Christian Church at Jerusalem, and not of Levitical descent, should have been allowed, as a literal matter of fact, to enter the "Holy of Holies" of the Jewish temple. The real explanation of this, as of some other similar passages which will be quoted, I believe to be this,—that some early writers, who were themselves thoroughly conversant with the significance of the insignia of priesthood and of royalty among the Jews, used, occasionally, expressions in speaking of Apostles and others, which would be φωνᾶντα συνιστάσιν, suggestive of important truths to men as well informed as themselves, but which could only lead to error if taken as literal statements of historical fact. Compare the passage from Epiphanius, quoted below, p. 40, and Note 62 upon that passage.

IX.

POLYCRATES,⁶⁰ OF EPHESVS.

OF THE GOLDEN PLATE WORN BY ST. JOHN.

APUD EUSEBIUM. HIST. ECCL. v. 24.

EUSEBIUS is speaking of the dispute between Victor, Bishop of Rome, and certain Eastern Bishops, concerning the proper time of the Easter Festival. As to this the traditionary usage of the Churches in Asia Minor differed from that of other Churches. And Polycrates of Ephesus, who held first place among the Bishops of Asia Minor, wrote as follows "to Bishop Victor and the Roman Church":—

. . . 'Ημεῖς οὖν ἀραδιούργητον ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν, μήτε προστίθεντες μήτε ἀφαιρούμενοι. Καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται ἅτινα ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἐν ᾗ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανῶν, καὶ ἀναστήσει πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, Φίλιππον τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἱερραπόλει, καὶ δύο θυγάτρες αὐτοῦ γεγηρακυῖαι παρθένοι. Καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτης ἐν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναπεσὼν ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκῶς καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος, οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται.

[Then follows an enumeration of other bishops of renown and martyrs whom Polycrates alleges as having all adhered to the same tradition in this matter.]

"For our own part we observe the day with scrupulous exactness, neither adding nor taking away. In Asia great luminaries of the Church have been gathered to their rest, who shall rise again in the day of the Lord's coming, when He cometh with glory from heaven, and shall raise up all the faints, such as were Philip, one of the twelve, who now is at rest in Hierapolis; and his two daughters

⁶⁰ As Polycrates was contemporary with Irenæus of Gaul and Victor of Rome (*fed.* A.D. 192 to A.D. 202), the date of this letter

is determined to the close of the second century.

who waxed old in virgin estate, while his other daughter, after a Christian life in the Holy Spirit, resteth now in Ephesus. Yea moreover, John also, he that reclined on the Lord's breast, and became a priest⁶¹ wearing the golden plate,⁶² and a Witness, and a Teacher, he, I say, now sleepeth in Ephesus."

⁶¹ As the terms *ιερεὺς* and *Sacerdos* are used in a great variety of meanings in ecclesiastical writers, and as the ambiguity thence arising will frequently come under notice in the course of these extracts, it may be well here briefly to enumerate those meanings, and to designate each by a separate (Greek) letter for facility of reference. The two words then (which may be regarded as equivalent) are used,—

α. Of the Jewish high-priest. [So ὁ *ιερεὺς* not unfrequently in LXX.]

β. Of Levitical priests of the second order.

γ. Of the Levitical priests generally, so as to include both the high-priest and the priests of the second order.

δ. Of our Lord Jesus Christ. [So in Heb. v. 6; vii. 21; x. 21.]

ε. Of Christian bishops.

ς. Of Christian presbyters, or priests.

ζ. Of those who in Christ's Church minister in holy things unto God, whether bishops or presbyters.

What is here briefly stated will be shown more at length with regard to *Sacerdos* in a subsequent note (See Index in *voc.*), in the extract from Pope Celestine's Letter to the Bishops of Gaul. [I shall refer, whenever necessary, to the various modifications of meaning above enumerated, by the number of the Note prefixed to the various letters. Thus 62 α will indicate a reference to the Jewish high-priest, 62 ε to Christian bishops, and so for the rest. But it must be understood that it is *only by context* that we can determine

which of the above meanings was present to the mind of the writer in any given passage. And my references therefore are only to be regarded as expressions of *opinion* founded upon study of such context.]

⁶² I quote both the context and the words of the original text, that the reader may judge for himself what is their true meaning. The word *ιερεὺς* by itself is ambiguous, and may mean either a high-priest or a priest of the second order, as context may suggest. But, as the distinctive mark of a high-priest was the *πίταλον*, or plate of gold, marking his supreme authority, or "royal priesthood," Polycrates uses here the descriptive expression, "a priest that had worn the *πίταλον*" (much as ecclesiastical historians speak of a "mitred abbot"), in order to bring out the fact on which he was then concerned to insist, viz., the *supreme Apostolic authority* of St. John, whose office in the Christian Church was to bear rule in spiritual things over the spiritual Israel, even as the high-priest of old over Israel after the flesh. For this last compare the passage from Epiphanius that follows (p. 40.) I may observe that the explanation above given will at once account for the very peculiar use of the participle of the *præsens perfectum*, *πεφορεῖκός*. The proper connotation of that participle is (see *Eirenica*, Notes 49, 52, and 61) that of a *state* or *condition* resulting from a past act. And this idea (slightly modified by the peculiarities of this exceptional context) is exactly coincident with the explanation above suggested.

X.

EPIPHANIVS.⁶³

BISHOP OF SALAMIS, A.D. 367 TO A.D. 403.

ADV. HÆS. LIB. I. CAP. 29.

[THE writer has been speaking of the prophecies concerning One who should "*sit on the throne of David.*" These prophecies, he adds, must needs have their fulfilment, seeing that no declaration of Holy Scripture faileth of accomplishment. He proceeds as follows] :—

By the "throne of David," and by the "sitting as a king," is meant the office of priesthood in God's Holy Church, which is a rank at once of royalty and of supreme priesthood, together conjoined of Christ, which He hath bestowed upon His holy Church, removing and placing in that His Church the throne of David, which abideth for ever. . . . Now, when the seat of kingly power had thus been transferred in Christ to the Church, the royal dignity was likewise transferred from the family of that Judah that was after the flesh, and from the Jerusalem that once was. And now the throne is set in God's Holy Church, and that for ever, having two titles to this dignity, in respect of kingship the one, in respect of supreme priesthood the other. It is a throne of royalty first, by inheritance from Christ Jesus our Lord: and this after two manners, because of His being of the seed of David the king, by natural descent, and as being what indeed He is, a greater King, from all eternity, in respect of His Godhead. It is a throne, too, of priesthood, because he is himself a high-priest, and first in rank in a line of high-priests, seeing that James (called the brother of the Lord, and apostle) was straight-

⁶³ Epiphanius, surnamed *ὁ πεντάγλωσσος*, as being acquainted with five languages, was born in Palestine of Jewish parents. He was chosen bishop of the Metropolitan See of

Constantia (formerly *Salamis*) in Crete, A.D. 367. The passage here given is quoted, or rather referred to, by St. Jerome in his "*Catalogus Illustrium Virorum.*"

way established as bishop, and he again was, by birth, the eldest son of Joseph, but, in regard of rank, was called brother of the Lord, because of their association one with the other.

For this James was a son of Joseph, begotten of Joseph's (first) wife, not of Mary (the mother of the Lord), as I have already often said, and clearly proved. Moreover, we find that he was of the seed of David, as being Joseph's son, and became a Nazarene. For he was Joseph's first-born and consecrated unto God. Beside this, I find that he exercised priestly office,⁶⁴ after the manner of the ancient priesthood, and for this reason was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies once in every year, as the law according to Scripture bade the high-priests do. For so many before me have recorded of him, such as were Eusebius, Clement, and others. Moreover, it was allowable for him to wear the golden plate upon his head, as is testified by the afore-mentioned trustworthy writers.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ The original is as follows: Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἰσρατιύσαντα αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἰερωσύνην εὐρομεν, διὰ καὶ ἡφίετο αὐτῷ ἁπαλὸς τοῦ ἱνιαυτοῦ εἰς τὰ ἄγια τῶν ἁγίων εἰσεῖναι, ὡς τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν ἐκείλευσεν ὁ νόμος κατὰ τὸ γέγραμμένον. οὕτω γὰρ ἰστέρισαν πολλοὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ Εὐσέβιος τε καὶ Κλήμης καὶ ἄλλοι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πῖταλον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξῆν αὐτῷ φορεῖν καθὼς οἱ προειρημένοι ἀξιόπιστοι ἄνδρες ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπομνηματισμοῖς ἑμαρτύρησαν. In referring to "Eusebius," he no doubt has in view the letter of Bishop Polycrates preserved by Eusebius, and quoted above, p. 38.

⁶⁵ It will be seen that the general scope of this passage is to prove the applicability to our Lord of the prophecies concerning One who should sit on the throne of David for ever. This

was so, he argues, in respect both of the Kingship of Christ, and in respect of His Priesthood. And all that he says of James is brought in by way of showing how the fact of his relationship, as half-brother in the eye of the law, to our Lord, pointed him out as having a claim, as nearest of kin, to preside (reign, as it were) over the Church at Jerusalem immediately after our Lord Himself had ascended into heaven. His argument is based upon the fact (familiar to him as originally a Jew) that the offices both of the high-priest and of the *Reis Abboth*, or head of the Sanhedrim (=the Greek *πατριάρχης*), were regarded by the Jews as hereditary, and passing, therefore, in default of direct heirs to the nearest of kin.

XI.

THEODORET.⁶⁶THE SACRED ROBE SENT BY CONSTANTINE
TO MACARIUS OF JERUSALEM.

[ECCLES. HIST. LIB. II. CAP. XXIII.]

.Κωνσταντίος γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐπανελθὼν ἐν ταύτῃ διέτριβε. Πολλὰ δὲ τῶν συνεληλυθότων ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως (ὁ Ἀκάκιος) κατηγοράσας καὶ σύστημα πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀποκαλέσας ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ καὶ λύμῃ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συγκροτοῦμενον, τὸν βασιλέως ἀνηψέ θυμόν. Οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ αὐτὸν χαλεπῆναι πεποίηκεν ἃ κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίλλου συντέθεικε. Τὴν γὰρ ἱερὰν στολὴν ἣν ὁ πανεύφημος Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίαν γεραίρων δεδῶκει τῷ Μακαρίῳ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἀρχιερεῖ, ἵνα ταύτην περιβαλλόμενος τὴν τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος ἐπιτελῇ λειτουργίαν, ἐκ χειρῶν δὲ αὕτη κατεσκεύαστο νημάτων, πεπρακέναι τὸν Κύριλλον ἔφη, καὶ ταύτην τινα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θυμέλης λυγίζομένων περιάμενον περιβαλέσθαι μὲν, ὑρχοῦμενον δὲ πεσεῖν καὶ συνθλιβῆναι καὶ θανάτῳ παραδοθῆναι.

“Constantius, after his return from the West, continued for some time in this city (Constantinople). Acacius brought many accusations to the Emperor against the bishops who had assembled at Seleucia, abusing them as a pack of mischievous men got together for the ruin and destruction of the Churches, and so excited him to anger against them. What more than all excited his indignation was the charge which Acacius devised against Cyril (Bishop of Jerusalem). The Emperor Constantine, of famous memory, as a mark of honour to the Church at Jerusalem, had sent to Macarius, then bishop of that city, a sacred robe, made of threads of gold, which he should put upon him when performing the office of holy baptism. This robe Acacius

⁶⁶ Theodoret, born at Antioch, circa A.D. 393, studied under Theodore of Mopsuestia | and S. Chrysostom; became Bishop of Cyrus in Syria, A.D. 420; died A.D. 457.

declared had been sold by Cyril, and that a stage-dancer had bought it and put it on, but that, in dancing, he fell and received injuries which proved fatal."⁶⁷

⁶⁷ I have quoted the above passage, because the fact of a "sacred vestment" being given to Macarius of Jerusalem is one which is often referred to by writers on ecclesiastical vestments. What really follows from the above passage is that Constantine thought that a splendid robe of some kind might properly be worn by a patriarch at the Office of Holy Baptism. What was the nature of the robe does not appear. But it is evident that whether the

story of Cyril's having sold it be true or no, it was one of which, with at least a show of probability, it could be said that it had been purchased by a stage-dancer, and by him worn in public exhibitions. As to the *apostolic* origin of the so-called "sacerdotal vestments," the story proves nothing at all, but if anything, goes to prove their imperial and secular origin.

XII.

ST. AUGUSTINE⁶⁸ OF HIPPO.

ON THE LEVITICAL VESTMENTS.

QUÆSTIONES IN HEPTATEUCHUM, LIB. II. CAP. CXXIX.

IN this chapter he has occasion to notice the dress of the high-priest as a whole, and also special portions of it, as the *λόγιον*, or *rationale*, and the *lamina aurea*. In all these he sees a mystical reference to Christ or to sacraments of the Church, but does not even in the slightest way allude to any corresponding vestments worn in offices of Christian ministry. The concluding words of the chapter are the following :—

Quod autem præfiguratum est in sancto sanctorum, ut super arcam quæ Legem habebat esset propitiatorium, ubi Dei misericordia significari intelligenda est, qua propitius fit eorum peccatis qui Legem non implent; hoc mihi videtur etiam in ipsa veste sacerdotis⁶⁹ significari: nam et ipsa quid aliud quam Ecclesiæ sacramenta significat? Quod in *λόγιον*, id est Rationale, in pectore sacerdotis⁶⁹ posito, judicia constituit, in lamina vero sanctificationem et ablationem peccatorum: tanquam Rationale fit in pectore simile arcæ in qua Lex erat, et lamina illa in fronte similis propitiatorio quod super arcam erat, et ut utrobique servaretur quod scriptum est, *Superexultat misericordia iudicio*. (Jac. ii. 13.)

⁶⁸ Bishop of Hippo, 365; died A.D. 450.

⁶⁹ *Sacerdos* throughout this passage is used,

as the previous context shows, of the Jewish high-priest. See above Note 61 *a*.

XIII.

POPE CELESTINE.⁷⁰

ON EPISCOPAL DRESS.

[THE letter from which extracts are here given, will be found in Labbé's "Concilia," vol. ii. p. 1618. It is addressed "To all the Bishops of the Provinces of Vienna and Narbonne."]

"We have been informed that certain priests⁷¹ of the Lord are devoting themselves rather to superstitious observances in dress than to purity of thought and of faith. But it is not to be wondered at that the customs of the Church should be broken by men who have not grown up in the Church, but coming in by another way, have introduced with them into the Church what had been theirs in another⁷² mode of life. By dressing in a *pallium*⁷³ and wearing a girdle⁷⁴ round their loins, they think to fulfil the truth of Scripture, not in the spirit but in the letter. But if the precepts to which they refer were for this end given, that after this strange fashion they should be observed, why are not the precepts which follow observed in like manner, and so 'burning lights' held in the hands as well as 'a staff?' The words they quote have a mystical meaning of their own, and to men of understanding are so clear as to be observed according to a more fitting interpretation. For by the girding up of the loins is signified Chastity, and by the staff Pastoral Rule, and by 'burning lights' the brightness of good works, concerning which it is said (Matt. v. 16), 'Let your works shine.' But supposing it so to be, that men dwelling in remote districts, and far from others, wear this dress, out of custom rather than of reason, yet whence such a dress in the Churches of Gaul? And why is the custom, observed for so many years, and by such great bishops, to be discarded for another garb? We should be distinguished from the common folk, and from the rest, by our learning, not by our gar-

⁷⁰ Bishop of Rome from November, 423, to April, 432.

ments; by our mode of life, not by what we wear; by purity of thought, not by peculiarities of dress. For if we begin to affect innovations, we shall tread under foot the traditions of our fathers, only to make room for worthless superstitions. We ought not, therefore, to attract to objects such as these the untrained minds of the faithful. It is teaching they require, not mockeries like these. Nor is it an imposing appearance to the eye that is needed, but precepts to be instilled into the mind."

The original is as follows:—

*Didicimus quosdam Domini sacerdotes*⁷¹ *superstitioso potius cultui infer-vire quam mentis vel fidei puritati. Sed non mirum si contra ecclesiasticum morem faciunt qui in ecclesia non creverunt, sed alio venientes itinere secum hæc in ecclesiam quæ in alia conversatione*⁷² *habuerant, intulerunt. Amicti pallio,*⁷³ *et lumbos præcincti,*⁷⁴ *credunt se scripturæ fidem non per*

⁷¹ *Sacerdotes Domini.* I have translated the word *Sacerdos* by priest for want of a better word. In point of fact, however, this term, when employed in a Christian sense, is in early writers used far more frequently of bishops than of priests,—not unfrequently of bishops and priests inclusively—and is seldom if ever used as the distinctive appellation of the second order of the Christian ministry.

St. Gregory always (as far as I have observed) uses *Sacerdos* as the equivalent of *episcopus*, *sacerdotium* of *Episcopatus*. So St. Gregory of Tours (*De Gloria Episc.* cap. cx. p. 989), Venerable Bede, and others. Honorius of Autun (*apud Ducange in voc.*), lib. i. cap. 182; and Rhabanus Maurus *de Instit. Cleric.* cap. 5, p. 314; recognise the properly inclusive use of the term. *Sacerdos autem vocari potest sive episcopus sit sive presbyter.* In a letter of John of Ravenna to St. Gregory the Great, and in passages of Innocent III., quoted below, we shall come upon one or two instances in which it is clear from the context that *Sacerdos* is used as a designation of a presbyter. Compare Note 61.

⁷² *In alia conversatione.* He means, probably, "while living under monastic rule," (see the next Note). Several instances are alluded to in early writers of monks who retained their monastic habit after promotion to episcopal dignity. A well-known instance is that of Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspa. *Orario quidem sicut omnes episcopi nullatenus utebatur.*

Pelliceo cingulo tanquam monachus utebatur. . . . Casulam pretiosam vel superbi coloris nec monachos suos habere permisit, nec ipse habuit. Subtus casulam nigello vel lactineo pallio circumdatus incescit. Quando temperies aeris invitabat solo pallio intra monasterium est coopertus. Nec deposito saltem cingulo somnum petivit. In qua tunica dormiebat in eadem sacrificabat. [*Ferrandus Diaconus apud Thomassinum.*]

⁷³ *Amicti pallio.* By *pallium* is here meant the coarse outer garment traditionally associated in idea with the prophets of the old covenant, and adopted in early Christian times by hermits and monks (see next Note), and by others living a life of similar austerity. The word *pallium* occurs in a great variety of meanings in early writers. Several of these will come before us in the course of this work, and will be noticed in the order of their occurrence.

⁷⁴ With this mention of *pallium* and *cingulum* as characteristic of a monastic dress, compare Salvianus (*apud Thomassinum*) *ad Eccles. Cathol.* lib. iv. Addressing a monk of unworthy character, he says: *Licet religionem (i.e. monastic life) vestibus simules, licet fidem cingulo afferas, licet sanctitatem pallio mentiaris*, etc. The mention of a *pellicium cingulum* (ζώνη διακριτική) in the passage quoted in Note 72 is an indication that the dress of John the Baptist was taken as a type by the earlier monks. So S. Germanus (quoted later in this volume) more distinctly implies.

spiritum sed per literam completuros. Nam si ad hoc ista præcepta sunt ut taliter servarentur, cur non fiunt pariter quæ sequuntur, ut lucernæ ardentes in manibus una cum BACULO teneantur? Habent suum ista mysterium, et intelligentibus ita clara sunt ut ea magis qua decet significatione servantur. Nam in lomborum præcinctiōne castitas, in baculo regimen pastorale, in lucernis ardentibus boni fulgor operis, de quo dicitur, Opera vestra luceant, indicantur. Habeant tamen istum forsitan cultum, morem potius quam rationem sequentes, qui in remotioribus habitant locis, et procul a ceteris degunt. Unde hic habitus in ecclesiis Gallicanis, ut tot annorum tantorumque pontificum in alterum habitum conjuetudo vertatur? Discernendi a plebe vel ceteris sumus doctrina non veste, conversatione non habitu, mentis puritate non cultu. Nam si studere incipiamus novitati, traditum nobis a patribus ordinem calcabimus ut locum super-vacuis superstitionibus faciamus. Rudes ergo fidelium mentes ad talia non debemus inducere. Docendi enim potius sunt quam illudendi. Nec imponendum est eorum oculis, sed mentibus infundenda præcepta sunt.

XIV.

JACOBUS SIRMONDUS.⁷⁵ON THE ORIGIN OF ECCLESIASTICAL
VESTMENTS.

(FROM HIS ANNOTATIONS ON THE LETTER ABOVE QUOTED.)

[HAVING quoted a bishop of Rome I may be allowed here to add the comment of a learned Jesuit, Jacobus Sirmondus. He writes as follows:—]

Taxat Cælestinus episcopos quosdam qui novo et infueto habitus genere uterentur: docetque discerni ab aliis debere clericos non veste sed vita et moribus. Sunt qui habitum interpretentur quo incedebant:

⁷⁵ He was born A.D. 1559; was made Confessor to Louis XIII. in 1637; and died, at a great age, 1651.

alii ut Dionysius Exiguus, quo ministrabant. *Quod non debeant*, inquit, *sacerdotes aut clerici amicti pallio et præcincti lumbos in ecclesia ministrare.* Sed res eodem relabatur. Nam primis ecclesiæ sæculis clerici quas in vita communi vestes usurpabant, iisdem etiam in sacris utebantur, sed mundioribus et optimis, id est, ut Hieronymus exponit in caput xlv. Ezechielis, *non quotidianis et quibuslibet pro usu vitæ communi pollutis, sed mundis.* Quod idem aliis verbis significat lib. i. contra Pelagianos, Pelagium exagitans. [*Here he quotes the passage already given, p. 34.*]. Candidam enim vestem dicit Albam, quæ in usu tum erat more Romano, eamque nitidam et lautiolem, qualis prensantium magistratum, qui candidati propterea vocabantur. Et color igitur et forma vestium eadem principio fuit ecclesiasticis et reliquis. Sed cum formam alii postea mutassent, ecclesia prudenti consilio pristinam in sacris retinuit: et ornatum licet preciumque ad venerationem vestibus sacris adjecerit, formam tamen non mutavit; ita ut Romanas vestes nunc etiam referant, Alba tunicam, casula togam, nisi quod casula seu planeta ancisis proavorum nostrorum memoria lateribus a togæ amplitudine abire cæpit. Et quia vetus hæc forma non perinde in quotidianis clericorum vestibus, ut in sacris, retenta est, ex eo factum ut nunc in Ecclesia quod de veteri lege ad Ezechielem observarat S. Hieronymus, *religio divina alterum habitum habeat in ministerio, alterum in usu vitæ communi.* Quod ipsum quoque accidit in lingua Latina, qua Divina officia celebramus. Nam cum ea quondam in usu publico passim esset sub imperio Romano, eademque sacrorum in ecclesia vox esset, quæ populi; populus linguam, ut solet, postea mutavit, ecclesia Latinam merito retinuit.

XV.

ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM.⁷⁶OF THE LINEN STOLE AND THE WOOLLEN
OMOPHORION.

EPIST. LIB. I. CAP. 136.

Ἐρμίνῃ Κόμητι.⁷⁷

“Ὅσον αὐτὸς ἄπληστος εἶ πρὸς τὴν μάθησιν τοσοῦτον ἐγὼ πρόθυμος πρὸς τὴν δόλῳσιν, μόνον εἰ θεὸς δῶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς σου τὴν εὐρεσιν ἄνωθεν.

Ἡ δὲ θόνη⁷⁸ μέθ’ ἧς λειτουργοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις οἱ διάκονοι τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναμνησκέει ταπεινώσιν, νύψαντος τοὺς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ ἐκμάζαντος. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὠμοφόριον ἐξ ἐρέας ὃν ἄλλ’ οὐ λίνου τὴν τοῦ προβάτου δορὰν σήμαίνει ὅπερ πλανηθὲν ζητήσας ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων ὤμων ἀνέλαβεν. Ὁ γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τύπον ὧν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἐκείνου πληροῖ, καὶ δείκνυσι πᾶσι διὰ τοῦ σχήματος ὅτι μιμητὴς ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ μεγάλου ποιμένος ὁ τὰς ἀσθενείας φέρειν τοῦ ποιμνίου προβιβλημένος. Καὶ προσχῆς ἀκριβῶς. Ἦνικα γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς ποιμὴν παραγένηται διὰ τῆς τῶν εὐαγγελίων τῶν προσκυνητῶν ἀναπτύξεως,⁷⁹ καὶ ὑπανίσταται καὶ ἀποτίθεται τὸ σχῆμα τῆς μιμήσεως ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, αὐτὸν δηλῶν παρεῖναι τὸν Κύριον, τὸν τῆς ποιμαντικῆς ἡγεμόνα, καὶ θεὸν, καὶ δεσπότην.

TO COUNT HERMINUS.

“As thou art ever unwearied in learning, so am I ever ready to teach, if only God, in answer to thy prayers, grant me from above the finding of that thou seekest.

⁷⁶ *Isidorus, gente Ægyptius, ortu forsan Alexandrinus, et Chrysostomi discipulus, claruit circ. ann. 412. Vitam egit monasticam circa Peleusium, ex septem Nili ostiis maximum. Cave, Hist. Lit. vol. i. p. 390.*

⁷⁷ *Κόμης.* One of the many Latin words (*comes*) which under the Empire were adopted into Greek, and thence again, in many cases, into the Eastern languages, with which that Greek was brought in contact. It is here

used probably of the governor of a province, in which sense *comes* is often used by the later Latin writers.

⁷⁸ ἡ δόνη. Taken by itself this word might imply a linen vestment of any kind, whether shaped like a maniple, or like a stole. But there is no trace of the maniple in the Eastern Church, and there is little doubt but that the vestment here spoken of resembled the Latin *orarium*,—our own “stole.” So St.

“The linen vestment⁷⁸ with which the deacons minister in the Holy Place, is a memorial of the humility of our Lord, in washing, and wiping dry, the feet of the disciples. But that which the bishop weareth on his shoulders, made not of linen but of wool, signifieth the fleece of the sheep, for which, when it had wandered away, the Lord sought, and took it up on his own shoulders. For the bishop, being a type of Christ, fulfilleth Christ's work, and by the habit he wears setteth forth unto all that he who is set to bear the infirmities of the flock is a follower of the good and great Shepherd. And this do thou note carefully. For when, by the unrolling⁷⁹ of the adorable Gospels, the true Shepherd Himself cometh nigh, the bishop riseth up to do Him honour, and layeth aside the habit of His semblance, showing that the Lord Himself is present, who is the chief Shepherd, and God, and Ruler over all.”

Chrysostom (or rather a sermon that bears his name), in the sermon on the Prodigal Son, speaks of the deacons as μιμούμενοι τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων πτέρυγας ταῖς λεπτταῖς ὀνόαις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἁριστιγῶν ὤμων κειμέναις, “presenting the semblance of angels' wings in the light vestments of linen which rested on their left shoulders.” And with this agrees the reference made to the same ὁδὸν by S. Germanus

of Constantinople (quoted later in this volume).

⁷⁹ ἀναπτύξις—unrolling, and so opening. To St. Isidore, writing early in the 5th century, the Gospels were probably still actually *volumina*, “rolls,” as we see them represented in the picture which forms the frontispiece to the present work. Comp. Luke, iv. 17, ἀναπτύξας τὸ βιβλίον.

XVI.

INCERTI AUCTORIS HOMILIA DE UNO LEGISLATORE
S. CHRYSOSTOMI NOMINE INSCRIPTA.⁸⁰

THE LEVITICAL VESTMENTS.

[THE writer is enlarging on those words of David, ὁ Κύριος ἐβασιλευσεν (Ps. xcvi. 1), and on the parallel expression (Ps. xcii. 1), ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐμπρέπειαν ἐνδοξασατο. Commenting on these last words, "He clothed Himself with beauty," he proceeds as follows]:—

We men clothe ourselves outwardly with raiment, in order that we may hide whatever is unseemly in our nature. But for what end should God cover over His incorporeal nature, replete as it is with light, or rather itself the radiant source of light? But in truth He speaketh here of the body of Christ as itself the garment wherewith He is clothed. "*The Lord is King: He hath put on beauteous apparel.*" By this beauty of which David speaks he meaneth the body of Christ's flesh. For beauteous this was, having nothing of the ugliness of sin. *For He did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth.* "The Lord hath clothed Himself with power: yea, He hath girded Himself about." Seeing that a girdle is the ornament of kings,⁸¹ and serveth as an indication of a king and of a judge, therefore doth he here set

⁸⁰ Photius, writing in the 9th century, and at Constantinople, speaks of this sermon as one of the genuine works of S. Chrysostom. Most modern critics, however (Bishop Pearson is the only notable exception), regard it as the work of another and later author. The Benedictine editors follow Usher in ascribing it to the age of Justinian, or about the middle of the 6th century. See Montfaucon's Preface, Chrysostomi Opera, tom. vi. p. 469.

⁸¹ ἐπιδὼ τὸν βασιλικὴ ζώνη κοσμεῖ. In the Byzantine representations of royal personages, the embroidered girdle, of considerable width, and studded with jewels, forms one of the most conspicuous ornaments. See, for ex-

ample, the figures of the Emperor Michael, and of the Empress Theodora, given by Dufresne in his *Dissertatio de Imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum Nummis* (appended to the Glossary), pl. vi. This reference by S. Germanus of the girdle of our Lord to royal, rather than to priestly, insignia, is to be accounted for by the fact that the girdle was not, till after the 8th century (at the earliest) recognised as part of the ornament of the dress of Christian ministry, seeing that if anything of the kind was worn, it was for convenience not for show, and did not appear. In the Levitical dress, on the other hand, it was the most marked ornament of the ordinary sacerdotal costume.

Him forth as both reigning and judging. For Eſaias ſaith: "*There ſhall come forth a rod⁸² out of the root of Jeſſe, and a flower ſhall ſpring therefrom, and the Spirit of God ſhall reſt upon Him; and with righteouſneſs ſhall His loins be girded, and with truth His ſides be clothed.*" (Iſa. xi. 1, 2, 5.)

This vesture of Chriſt, I mean His fleſh, was worn after a hidden manner, and in image, by the high-prieſt under the law. And mark now with attention how the ſhadows ſerved as interpreters of the Truth, how the types gave their light before the fuller light of the Goſpel. I ſpeak now with reſerve, and accommodate my words as far as may be, to ſimple and unlearned hearers, that they be not carried to and fro with uncertainties of doctrine.

The high-prieſt, then, when he entered into the Holy of Holies, put upon him a ποδήρης (a garment, that is, that hung down from the head to the feet) together with ephod,⁸³ girdle, drawers, golden plate, tiara,⁸⁴ or prieſtly cap,⁸⁵ the Rational upon his breaſt, and all that the

⁸² ῥάβδος. In this word which according to context may mean either (α) the young ſhoot of a tree, or (β) among many other ſecondary meanings, a ſceptre, the writer ſees a prophecy of Chriſt's royalty, as in the words δικαιοσύνη and ἀλήθεια which follow, he finds ſymboliſed His office as a Judge.

⁸³ ἱππομήδα. Following the LXX.

⁸⁴ Τιάρα [alſo τιάρας, τήρας, τήρης], a Perſian word, and Perſian head-dreſs. So S. Chryſoſtom ſpeaks of it, *Homil.* 17, in *Acta*: καβάτιρε οἱ Πέρσαι τὴν τιάραν περιλόντις, καὶ τὰς ἀναξυριδας καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα τὰ βαρβαρικά, τὴν ἄλλην στολὴν τὴν ἡμῖν ἐπιχώριον ὑπελθόντις, καὶ χειράμνοι χροῶ κρύπτουσι τῷ σχήματι τὸν πόλεμον. "As the Perſians, by taking off their tiara, their trouſers and foreign ſhoes, and aſſuming the dreſs commonly worn by ourſelves, and ſhaving the ſkin, conceal under this outward ſemblance the war they bear in their hearts." But a tiara of a peculiar ſhape, with an upright peak, was the diſtinctive mark of Perſian kings. So *Æſchylus* ſpeaks of it, *Pers.* 662, where the Chorus implore Darius to reappear on earth, βασιλείου τιάρας φάλαρον πιφάσκων. *Comp. Ariſtoph. Aves.* 487. And of eccleſiaſtical writers, St. *Jerome* uſes the word of the high cap (ſhaped like a "Cap of Liberty") which was then regarded as the characteristic mark of "men of the Eaſt."

[On *Ezech.* cap. xxiii. and on *Dan.* cap. iii.] *Tiara* genus pileoli quo *Perſarum* Chaldeorumque genus utitur. So again St. *Iſidore*, *Hiſp. Orig.* lib. xix. cap. xxx. *Imperatores Romani, et reges quidam gentium, aureis coronis utuntur. Perſæ tiaras gerunt, ſed reges reſta, ſatrapæ incurvas. Reperta autem tiara a Semiramide Affyriorum regina. Quod genus ornamenti exinde uſque hodie gens ipſa retinet.* And *Photius* (9th century), *κυρβασία, τιάρα* ἥ οἱ μὲν βασιλεῖς ὀρεῖ ἱερῶντος οἱ δὲ ſτρατηγοὶ ἱπικεκλιμένῃ. As for this conſtrast of form compare *Xen. Anab.* ii. 5, 23, where *Tiſſaphernes* is repreſented as ſaying, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῃ ἔξεισιν ὀρεῖν ἔχειν. The uſe of the term as a designation for the regnum, or crown of royalty, worn by the later popes, is, as may be ſuppoſed, of very late date indeed.

⁸⁵ τιάραν, τουτίστις κορυβάντιον. Two things are here to be remarked. Firſt the mere fact that the preacher ſhould find it neceſſary to explain the LXX. word τιάρα by κορυβάντιον, affords of itſelf a ſtrong preſumption that no tiara, nor anything correſponding thereto in ſhape, could, in his time, have been generally known as the characteristic decoration of Chriſtian biſhops (compare below, Note 89). And ſecondly as to the word κορυβάντιον itſelf. [The *var. lect.* *κυρβασία* muſt be regarded as an explanatory gloſs, ſubſtituting a comparatively common word for one which in literary Greek

Scripture there setteth forth, and which yourselves may see. In⁸⁶ all this that which outwardly is fashioned is one—other is that which thereby is to be understood. For God delighteth not in blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen. That for which God looketh is purity of heart. But in the embodiment of these colours He setteth before us, as in a picture, the semblance of the divers virtues. For if God did indeed find pleasure in those vestments of glory, why did He not clothe Moses therewith before that he clothed Aaron? But Moses was himself without that vesture, and yet clothed therewith the priests. Moses was not washed with water, and yet did he wash them. He was not anointed with oil, yet did he anoint them. He wore not a priestly vestment, yet he put that vestment on the priests; that thou thereby mightest learn that to him that is perfect⁸⁷ virtue sufficeth for all adornment.

But let us set the priest before us, from the head downwards. For the very name of what he putteth upon him is matter of doubt and question, and has been rendered by another word in Greek. To begin then with the head. What was first? “Tiara,” or what, is the name it bears? And why⁸⁸ is that which he weareth fashioned as a tiara? Because the high-priest was head of the people, and there was need that one who was made head of all, should himself have power set upon his head. For absolute and arbitrary power is not to be endured, but if it have the symbol of supreme power set upon it, then is it made subject unto law. Therefore it is commanded that the head of the priest be not bare but covered, in order that he who is head of the people may learn that he too hath a Head (in heaven). For⁸⁹ this cause in the church also, in the ordaining of priests (61 ε), the

is very rare, and confined to very late writers.] It is properly an adjective, with the meaning “pertaining to the Corybantes,” or priests of Cybele, and hence used of a cap, or bonnet of peculiar shape, such as they wore. In *Græcitate, quæ dicitur, vulgari, κορυβαντιον nihil aliud significat quam κυρβασία* (a Persian cap, or tiara). Lobeck on Soph. *Ajax*. p. 374, Note.

⁸⁶ Ἄλλα μὲν τὰ σχήματα, ἄλλα δὲ τὰ νοήματα. Οὐ γὰρ πάντως Θεὸς ἀναπύεται ἐκκίνησι καὶ πορφύρῃ καὶ κόκκῳ καὶ βύσσῳ· Θεὸς γὰρ ψυχῶν ἅπαιτι καθαρότητα· ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς σωματικαῖς ἄνθρωποι διωγράφει τῶν ἀρετῶν τὴν εἰκόνα. Εἰ γὰρ ἄλλῃως ταῖς στολαῖς ἐκί-
ναις ταῖς ἐνδόξοις ἀνσπᾶντο διὰ τί πρὸ τοῦ Ἀαρὼν τὸν Μωυσῆν οὐκ ἐνίδυσεν.

⁸⁷ ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι τῷ τελείῳ ἀρετῇ ἡ ἀρετὴ πρὸς κόσμον. For the meaning of τέλειος compare Note 34. The word seems here to be used of the perfection of the Gospel as compared with the imperfect and typical character of the law.

⁸⁸ The original text seems to be corrupt. As no question of importance is involved, I need not enter into the history of the conjecturally amended text translated as above.

⁸⁹ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις τῶν ἱερέων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τίθεται, ἵνα μάθῃ ὁ χειρο-

gospel of Christ is laid upon their heads, that he who is ordained may learn that he then receiveth the true tiara of the Gospel; and may learn this also, that though he be head of all, yet doth he act in subjection to God's laws; though he be ruler of all, yet is he too under rule to the law; though in all things a setter forth of the Word, yet himself to that Word in subjection. Therefore said one, a worthy man of the former times, Ignatius by name, of high renown as bishop and as martyr, when writing to a certain priest,⁹⁰ "*Without thy will let nought be done: but thyself do nought without the will of God.*" We see then that to one who is chief in priestly ministry to God the Gospels (laid upon his head) are a sign that he is under authority. For this cause Paul speaketh concerning a woman having her head covered, "*The woman ought to have wherewith to cover her head,*" this covering being the symbol of authority. The tiara then was the sign of authority; and so, too, was the golden plate, whereon was inscribed that which is written in God's Word, the Name of God being thereon engraved, and showing this first, that the Name of God is none other than the power of God.

After the priestly cap and the golden plate, there are two emeralds on the shoulders of the high-priest, having upon them the names of six tribes on the one side, and of the other six on the other side. Herein is a sign of what, in the priest, should be set forth to view. And the emerald is assigned unto him, as having a twofold beauty; in respect of its colour, pale, yet lovely to look upon, and in respect of its purity, like in power to a mirror. And as a priest should exercise himself in all holy abstinence, and in his life be as a mirror unto men, therefore doth God will that the high-priest should bear the symbol of virtue upon his shoulders. Yet why upon the shoulders? As the name of God is set upon his head, so is joint⁹¹ set upon

νούμενος ὅτι τὴν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τιάραν λαμβάνει· καὶ ἵνα μάλιστα ὅτι εἰ καὶ πάντων ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτους πρᾶττει τοὺς νόμους, κ. τ. λ. Thomasinus, referring to this passage, says, and with good reason: *Inde non inepte colligeret quis simplicissima tunc fuisse pontificum capitis indumenta.* He might have said yet more, that from this passage compared with that of S. Germanus, (quoted later in this volume) to which also he refers, it scarcely admits of doubt, that no episcopal insignia corresponding to the tiara of the high-priest were known at

Constantinople in the 6th century, or even at the beginning of the 8th.

⁹⁰ *ἐρεῖς* is here used in reference to a Christian bishop (it is the letter to Polycrates that is here quoted). Compare Note 61.

⁹¹ The two precious stones here spoken of served the purpose of a *clasp*. Hence apparently the allusion in the text: *ἐπειδὴ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, τὸ ἄρθρον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρθρου.* The explanation is unsatisfactory, but I have no better to suggest.

joint. And once more, why upon the shoulders? Because the shoulders are significant of activity,⁹² seeing that to them doth active power belong. . . . Upon the breast of the priest was worn the oracle, or breastplate, containing the twelve graven stones,—sardius, topaz, emerald, carbuncle, sapphire, jasper, jacinth, agate, amethyst, chrysolith, beryl, onyx. Among these twelve stones were distributed the names of the twelve tribes. And here, too, is a saying hard to be understood. Above, upon the shoulders, the stones were of one kind, and bearing but one name, as emeralds. But lower down upon the breast the stones are thus diverse. What doth this mean? Seeing that human nature, of which we had our birth, is one, but that by diversities of will we are divided, therefore is one of these symbols assigned unto the will, the other to that nature which is common to man. By the Name of God, then, was signified active virtue, the elements whereof are reason and truth.

On the lower border of the priest's (61 α) robe, is the fringe⁹³ thereof, whereon are flowers and pomegranates, with golden fruits and bells. And what meant these in the vesture of the priest (61 α)? Shall we deem that God found pleasure in these flowers? Was it of His desire that the priest should be clothed round about with flowers that are of earth (61 α)? Not so. But in this outward habit of the priest (61 α) He setteth forth the image of all virtues. Above, upon the head, the Name of God; upon the breast, the Oracle; below, flowers and fruits, even the righteous habits of Christian virtues, such as are merciful kindness, justice, brotherly love.⁹⁴

⁹² ἐπεὶ δὲ πράξιώς ἐστι σημεῖον. Ἡ γὰρ πρακτικὴ δύναμις ἐν τοῖς ὤμοις ἡρπῆται. Compare Note 35.

⁹³ λῶμα, as in the LXX.

⁹⁴ It will be seen on perusal of the passage above given that its language throughout is such as none could with any probability be supposed to use, who deemed that the dress

worn in offices of holy ministry by himself and by other Christian bishops or priests, had been modelled of set purpose, by apostolic, or by later ecclesiastical, authority, upon the type of the Levitical vestments. See more particularly the passages quoted in Notes 86, 87, and 89.

XVII.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.⁹⁵ON THE LEVITICAL VESTMENTS AND
INSIGNIA.

EXPOSITIO MORALIS IN BEATUM JOB, LIB. XXVIII. CAP. VI.

[COMMENTING on the words, *Ubi eras quando ponebam fundamenta terræ* (Job, xxxviii. 4), he writes as follows :]—

“*In Scriptura sacra quid aliud fundamenta quam prædicatores accipimus? Quos dum primos Dominus in sancta Ecclesia posuit, tota in eis sequentis fabricæ structura surrexit. Unde et Sacerdos cum tabernaculum ingreditur duodecim lapides portare in pectore jubetur: quia videlicet semetipsum pro nobis sacrificium offerens Pontifex noster, dum fortes in ipso exordio prædicatores exhibuit, duodecim lapides sub capite in prima sui corporis parte portavit. Sancti itaque Apostoli et pro prima ostensione ornamenti lapides sunt in pectore, et pro prima soliditate ædificii in solo fundamenta. Unde David Propheta cum sanctam Ecclesiam in sublimibus Apostolorum mentibus poni ædificarique conspiceret, fundamenta ejus, inquit, in montibus sanctis. (Ps. lxxxvi.) Cum vero in sacro eloquio non fundamenta sed singulari numero fundamentum dicitur, nullus alius nisi ipse Dominus designatur, per cujus divinitatis potentiam nutantia infirmitatis nostræ corda solidantur. De quo et Paulus ait: Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere præter id quod positum est Christus Jesus. Ipse quippe fundamentum fundamentorum est: quia et origo est inchoantium et constantia robustorum.*”⁹⁶

“By ‘foundations’ in the Holy Scripture, we are to understand those preachers of God’s Word (the Apostles) who were set foremost in the Church by the Lord, and on whom, therefore, was built up the whole structure of the spiritual Building that followed. And

⁹⁵ St. Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome from A.D. 590 to 604.

this is the reason that the high-priest, when he enters the Tabernacle, is bidden to wear the twelve stones (of the 'Rationale') on his breast, because our own High-priest, in setting forth at the very first mighty preachers of His Word, carried, as it were, twelve stones, in subjection to the Head, in the forefront of His own Body. And so the Holy Apostles are both stones upon the breast, in accordance with that first setting forth of ornament, and in respect of the first solid grounding of 'the Building' are as foundation-stones laid in the ground. Hence that word of Prophet David as he beheld the holy Church being founded and built up upon the exalted minds of the Apostles, '*Her foundations,*' saith he, '*are upon the holy mountains.*' But when in the Divine Word we hear speak not of 'foundations,' as of many, but of 'the foundation' as of one only, then is none other intended but the Lord alone, by the power of whose divine nature steadfastness is given to the tottering heart of human infirmity. Of Him speaketh Paul when he saith, 'Other foundation can no man lay save that which is already laid, even Christ Jesus.' For He is the Foundation of all foundations, seeing that He is both the beginning of Life to them that begin, and the sustaining strength of them that are strong."⁹⁶

⁹⁶ This passage is quoted as a strong evidence (to say the least) that to St. Gregory nothing was known in the dress of Christian Bishops that corresponded to the Rationale of the Jewish high-priest; and that the idea of any such correspondence being intended never occurred to him. He neither casts about to find any

such correspondence, nor thinks it necessary to account for there being none. Compare his own words (quoted below, p. 61), *Vestimenta sacerdotis quid aliud quam recta opera debemus accipere?* "By the vestments of the high-priest what are we to understand but righteous works?"

XVIII.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

SYMBOLISM OF THE HIGH-PRIEST'S BREASTPLATE.

PASTORALIS CURA, PARS SECUNDA (TOM. I. p. 1185), CAP. II.

[IN this chapter he is speaking of the purity of thought which becometh them who take upon them the charge of "carrying living vessels⁹⁷ into the Temple of Eternity." He proceeds as follows :]—

Hinc divina voce præcipitur ut in Aaron pectore rationale iudicii vittis ligantibus imprimatur: quatenus sacerdotale cor nequaquam cogitationes fluxæ possideant, sed ratio sola constringat: ne indiscretum quid vel inutile cogitet, qui ad exemplum aliis constitutus ex gravitate vitæ semper debet ostendere quantam in pectore rationem portet. In quo etiam rationali vigilanter adjungitur ut duodecim nomina patriarcharum describantur. Ascriptos etenim patres semper in pectore ferre, est antiquorum vitam sine intermissione cogitare. [Plura et similia in eandem fere sententiam sequuntur.]⁹⁸

"Hence it is that by the voice of God that precept is given that on the breast of Aaron the (breastplate) Rational of Judgment should be closely fastened with attaching bands, forasmuch as it would not be meet that the heart of the priest should be occupied by loose imaginations, but by reason alone be constrained: that nothing indiscreet nor mischievous may fill the mind of one, who, set as he is for an ensample unto others, ought to shew plainly how much of reason he beareth on his breast. And of this Rational this, too, is carefully enjoined, that the twelve names of the Patriarchs be thereon inscribed. For by the continual bearing of the fathers graven upon the breast, is meant the remembering without ceasing the lives of them that are of the former times." [*Here follows much more to the same effect, in general, though not verbal, accordance with the comment of S. Jerome already quoted.*]⁹⁸

⁹⁷ In allusion to the words of Isaiah, lii. 11, *Mundamini qui fertis vasa Domini.*

⁹⁸ To this passage the same remark applies as to the last quoted. See Note 96.

XIX.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

OF THE EPHOD OR SUPERHUMERAL.

PASTORALIS CURA, PARS II. CAP. III. p. 1187.

[HE is urging upon the Pastor that he should ever lead the way in all good work, that so the Flock, guided at once by the voice of their Shepherd, and by his good life, may make their onward way by example rather than by precept only. In illustration he refers⁹⁹ to the setting apart (by Levitical law) of the right shoulder and the breast¹⁰⁰ of the offerings as the priest's portion. He pursues his thought in these words :—]

“Unde supernæ quoque vocis imperio in utroque humero sacerdos velamine superhumeralis astringitur :¹⁰¹ ut contra adversa ac prospera virtutum semper ornamento muniatur : quatenus juxta vocem Pauli, *Per arma justitiæ a dextris sinistrisque gradiens, cum ad sola quæ anteriora sunt nititur, in nullo delectationis infimæ latere flectatur. Non hunc prospera elevent, non adversa perturbent, non blanda usque ad voluptatem demulceant, non aspera usque ad desperationem premant : ut dum nullis passionibus intentionem mentis humiliat, quanta in utroque humero superhumeralis pulchritudine tegatur ostendat. Quod recte superhumeralis ex auro, hyacintho, purpura, bis tincto cocco, et tota fieri bysso, præcipitur, ut quanta sacerdos¹⁰² clarescere virtutum diversitate debeat, demonstretur. In sacerdotis¹⁰² quippe habitu ante omnia aurum fulget, ut in eo intellectus sapientiæ principaliter emicet. Cui hyacinthus, qui aerio colore¹⁰³ resplendet, adjungitur : ut per omne quod intelligendo penetrat non ad favores intimos sed ad amorem cælestium furgat ; ne, dum incautus suis laudibus capitur, ipso*

⁹⁹ So S. Jerome previously, Epistle to Fabiola.

¹⁰⁰ Compare Note 37, above.

¹⁰¹ *Velamine superhumeralis astringitur.* [*Superhumeralis* is here a “genitive of apposition.”] “He hath the covering of the ephod fastened closely about him on either shoulder.” The allusion is to the marked contrast between the close-fitting garb of the Levitical priest (specially noticeable in the ephod), as compared with the more flowing vestments of

Christian ministry. See above Note 6, p. 2. In that Note the words quoted from the original text of Josephus should be read as follows: *περιεννυγµένος τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας περὶ τοῖς βραχίουσιν κατασφυγµένος.*

¹⁰² *Sacerdos* is here the high-priest. Compare Note 61 a.

¹⁰³ *Hyacinthus aerio colore.* See above, Note 33, p. 22.

etiam veritatis intellectu vacuetur. Auro quoque et hyacintho purpura permiscetur: ut videlicet sacerdotale (612) cor, cum summa quæ prædicat sperat, in semetipso suggestiones vitiorum reprimat, easque velut regia potestate contradicat: quatenus nobilitatem semper intimæ regenerationis aspiciat, et cælestis regni sibi habitum¹⁰⁴ moribus defendat. De hac quippe nobilitate spiritus per Petrum dicitur: Vos autem genus electum, regale sacerdotium . . . Auro autem, hyacintho, bysso ac purpuræ, bis tinctus coccus adjungitur, ut ante interni Judicis oculos omnia virtutum bona ex charitate decorentur: et cuncta quæ coram hominibus rutilant, hæc in conspectu occulti Arbitri flamma intimi amoris accendat. Quæ scilicet charitas, quia Deum simul et proximum diligit, quasi ex duplici tinetura fulgescit. Qui igitur sic ad Authoris speciem anhelat ut proximorum curam negligat: vel sic proximorum curam exsequitur ut a divino amore torpescat: quia unum horum quodlibet negligit in superhumeralis ornamento habere coccum bis tinctum nescit. Sed cum mens ad præcepta charitatis tenditur, restat proculdubio ut per abstinentiam caro maceretur. Unde et bis tincto cocco byssus adjungitur. De terra enim byssus nitenti specie oritur.¹⁰⁵ Et quid per byssum nisi candens decore munditiæ corporalis castitas designatur? Quæ videlicet byssus torta pulchritudine superhumeralis innescit: quia tunc castimonia ad perfectum munditiæ candorem ducitur cum per abstinentiam¹⁰⁶ caro fatigatur. Cumque inter virtutes cæteras etiam afflictæ carnis meritum proficit, quasi in diversa superhumeralis specie byssus torta candescit.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *Cælestis regni habitum*,—the dress of celestial royalty (*regni* = kingship rather than *kingdom*), i.e. the dress proper to one who is a partaker of that "royal priesthood" of which the text goes on to speak.

¹⁰⁵ *Byssus nitenti specie*—candens, &c. For the word *byssus* see Note 5, p. 2; and for the brilliant whiteness (*candor*) here attributed to it, compare Note 19, p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ The *maceratio carnis per abstinentiam* is here spoken of as specially typified by the *byssus* of the high-priest's ephod. The reason of this will be made clear by the following quotation. *Sicut byssus vel linum candorem, quem ex natura non habet, multis tonsionibus attritum par artem acquirit, sic et hominis caro munditiam quam non obtinet per naturam, multis castigationibus macerata fortitur per gratiam.* Innocentius III. *Mysteriorum Missæ*, lib. i. cap. li.

¹⁰⁷ I have thought it unnecessary to translate the above passage at length. It is sufficient to

observe upon its general character. It will be seen that throughout a spiritual antitype (not an actual one) is traced, between the literal vestments of the Levitical and the spiritual clothing of the Christian priesthood. The divers colours of the high-priest's ephod are intended to teach *with what variety of virtues* he should be adorned who serves in holy ministry to God. The *gold* is significant of the "understanding of wisdom" (because of its exceeding *preciousness*; he was thinking probably of Job, xxviii. 15-19). The *blue*, of heavenly (Note 33) aspiration. The *purple* of the "power as of a king" wherewith the Christian priest should crush the power of evil thought within his heart. The scarlet is typical of charity, kindled, as he suggests, as into fire, by the flame of holy love. The linen, fine and white, of the subduing (Note 106) of the flesh by Christian abstinence.

XX.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

OF THE BELLS UPON THE TUNIC OF THE EPHOD ;
AND OF THE LEVITICAL VESTMENTS
IN GENERAL.

PASTORALIS CURA, PARS II. CAP. IV. p. 1189.

[THE Christian pastor should know both how with discretion to keep silence, and, to the profit of them that hear, *to speak*. In this regard he must be prepared boldly to rebuke if need be. He then proceeds:—]

Clavis quippe apertionis sermo correptionis est: quia increpatio culpam detegit, quam sæpe nescit ipse etiam qui perpetravit. Hinc Paulus ait (Tit. i. 9): Ut potens sit exhortari in doctrina sana, et eos qui contradicunt redarguere. . . . Hinc per Esaiam Dominus admonet dicens: Clama, ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam. Præconis quippe officium suscipit quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit: ut ante adventum Judicis qui terribiliter sequitur ipse scilicet clamando gradiatur. Sacerdos ergo si prædicationis est nescius quam clamoris vocem daturus est præco mutus? Hinc est enim quod super pastores primos in linguarum specie Spiritus Sanctus insedit: quia nimirum quos repleverit de Se, protinus loquentes facit. Hinc Moyse præcipitur ut tabernaculum Sacerdos ingrediens tintinnabulis ambiatur, ut videlicet voces prædicationis habeat, ne superni Spectatoris iudicium ex silentio offendant. Scriptum quippe est (Exod. xxviii. 35): Ut audiatur sonitus quando ingreditur sanctuarium in conspectu Domini, et non moriatur. Sacerdos namque ingrediens vel egrediens moritur, si de eo sonitus non audiatur: quia iram contra se occulti Judicis exigit, si sine sonitu prædicationis incedit. Aptè autem tintinnabula vestimentis illius describuntur inserta. Vestimenta etenim sacerdotis quid aliud quam recta opera debemus accipere? Propheta attestante qui ait

(Ps. cxxxii. 9) : Sacerdotes tui induantur justitiam. *Vestimentis itaque illius tintinnabula inhærent, ut vitæ viam cum linguæ sonitu ipsa quoque bona opera clament sacerdotis.*¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ In this passage again, as in those already quoted, the "bells" of the older sacerdotal drefs, and the vestments in general, receive a purely spiritual interpretation as referred to Christian priesthood. The "bells" are the

voice of him who in God's Name is both "apt to teach," and "bold to rebuke." And the vestments are good works, the "clothing of righteousness" which becometh the priests of the Lord.

XXI.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

THE USE OF THE PALLIUM, A MATTER OF
ROMAN PRIVILEGE.

EPISTOLARUM EX REGISTRO DIVI GREGORII LIB. IV. EP. 2.

[CHILDEBERT, king of the Franks, had written to St. Gregory requesting that the *Pallium*, and Vicarial authority from the see of Rome (*vices Apostolicæ sedis*), might be conferred on Vigilius, Bishop of Arles. In writing to Vigilius, and announcing his assent to this, St. Gregory speaks of the sending of this *pallium* as an ‘ancient custom.’¹⁰⁹]

Quod vero in eis (sc. epistolis) juxta antiquum¹¹⁰ morem, usum pallii ac vices sedis apostolicæ postulasti, absit ne aut transitoria potestatis culmen, aut exterioris cultus ornamentum, in vicibus nostris ac palliis quæfisse te suspicer. Sed quia cunctis liquet unde in Galliarum regionibus fides sancta prodierit,¹¹¹ cum priscam consuetudinem apostolicæ sedis fraternitas vestra

¹⁰⁹ See Epist. Lib. iv. liii. in which St. Gregory writes to Childebert himself on the same subject.

¹¹⁰ St. Gregory here states that for Bishops of Arles to receive the privilege of the Roman *Pallium*, and vicarial authority, was in accordance with “ancient custom,” or (as the context rather suggests) with “the custom observed in former times.” The *Pallium* here spoken of is the *Pallium* worn by archbishops. In St. Gregory’s time this had already assumed that later form, in which (with slight modifications only) it has ever since been retained. That is to say, instead of being shaped like a modern stole, as in the pictures of XVSTUS PP. ROM., photographed in this volume, it presented in front the appearance of the English letter Y, and was all but identical with the

ἡμφορόριον of the Greek Church, already described (p. 49) by S. Isidore of Pelusium.

As for the “custom of former times” to which St. Gregory refers, full information will be found in *Thomasinus, De Beneficiis*, part ii. lib. ii. cap. liv., where the whole question of the Roman *Pallium* is treated with much learning and considerable candour: and further particulars of importance in Giefeler’s *Eccl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 446.

¹¹¹ St. Gregory, in saying this, implies, of course, that the Churches of Gaul owed their Christianity to the Roman Church. It is *probable*, though not certain, that he was mistaken in so thinking, and that those Churches were by their first origin connected with the Churches of Asia Minor, of which Ephesus was the primatial see. [See Palmer’s *Pr-*

*repetit, quid aliud quam bona suboles ad sinum matris ecclesiæ recurrat?*¹¹²

“As for the request you have made, in accordance with ancient custom, in your letters addressed to me, that you may be allowed to use the *Pallium*, and be made Vicar of the Apostolic See, I will not for a moment fear that in making this request you have had regard to any exaltation of temporary power, or to the increase of outward adornment. As it is clear to all men from what source¹¹¹ the Holy Faith spread in the regions of Gaul, when you ask, as your Brotherhood now does, for the renewal of the customary privilege bestowed of old by the Apostolic See, what is this but the return of a goodly offspring to the bosom of the mother Church?”¹¹²

mitive Liturgies, p. 155, 299.] However this may be, it is noteworthy that St. Gregory here gives as a reason why the Gallic Churches should submit to the patriarchal authority of the See of Rome, that from Rome they had originally received the knowledge of Christian truth. He says not a word of it being the duty of every Church to submit itself to the

See of Rome as having, by Divine right, a Headship over the universal Church of Christ.

¹¹² This letter will serve as an example of a great number of others occurring in St. Gregory's epistles, relating to this (then, as now) vexed question of the Papal Pallium. See lib. iv. 53, 54, 55, 56; lib. v. ep. 7, 8, 18, 33; lib. vii. ep. 11; lib. x. ep. 55.

XXII.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

THE USE OF THE *MAPPULA* REGARDED AT ROME
AS A MATTER OF PAPAL PRIVILEGE,
NOT OF GENERAL RIGHT.EPISTOLA JOANNIS EPISCOPI (RAVENNATIS) AD GREGORIUM PAPAM
DE USU PALLII ET DIVERSIS ORNATIBUS [TOM. 2. p. 1055]

LIB. X. EP. 55.

Quod de mappulis a presbyteris et diaconis meis præsumptum Apostolatus vester scripsit, vere fateor, tædet me aliquid exinde commemorare, cum per se veritas, quæ apud dominum meum sola prævalet, ipsa sufficiat. Nam cum hoc minoribus circa urbem¹¹³ constitutis ecclesiis licitum sit, poterit etiam apostolatus mei domini, si venerabilem clerum primæ Apostolicæ sedis suæ requirere dignatur, modis omnibus invenire, quia quoties ad episcopatus ordinationem, seu responsi, sacerdotes vel levitæ Ravennatis Ecclesiæ Romam venerunt, quod omnes in oculis sanctissimorum decessorum vestrorum cum mappulis sine reprehensione aliqua procedebant. Quare etiam eo tempore quod (leg. quo) istic a prædecessore vestro peccator ordinatus sum, cuncti presbyteri et diaconi mei in obsequium Domini Papæ mecum procedentes usi sunt.

¹¹³ By *urbem* is of course meant Rome.

XXIII.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

LIB. II. EP. LIV. (*apud Labbé Conc. TOM. V. P. 1127*) AD JOANNEM
EPISCOPUM RAVENNATEM.

[AFTER a long and severe reproof of the mode in which the bishop had presumed to wear the *pallium*, on other days, and in other places, than was usual, he adds the following concerning the *mappula*, or *maniple*]: —

Illud autem quod pro utendis a clero vestro mappulis scripsistis, a nostris est clericis fortiter obviatum, dicentibus nulli hoc unquam alii cuilibet ecclesiæ concessum fuisse: nec Ravennates clericos illic vel in Romana civitate tale aliquid cum sua conscientia præsumpsisse: nec si tentatum esset ex furtiva usurpatione sibi præjudicium generari. Sed etiamsi in qualibet ecclesia hoc præsumptum fuerit, asserunt emendandum, quod non concessione Romani Pontificis sed sola surreptione præsumitur. Sed nos servantes honorem fraternitatis tuæ, licet contra voluntatem antedicti cleri nostri, tamen primis diaconibus vestris, quos nobis quidam testificati sunt etiam ante eis usos fuisse, in obsequio duntaxat tuo mappulis uti permitimus: alio autem tempore vel alias personas hoc agere vehementissime prohibemus.

XXIV.

DIVUS GREGORIUS PAPA.

THE PRIVILEGE OF WEARING A DALMATIC,
GRANTED TO AREGIUS, BISHOP OF GAP,
AND TO HIS ARCHDEACON.

EPIST. EX REGISTRO, LIB. VII. TOM. II. p. 924.

[AFTER writing at some length upon other subjects, he proceeds as follows]: —

Præterea communis filius Petrus diaconus nobis innotuit quod fraternitas vestra, tempore quo hic fuit, poposcerit ut sibi et archidiacono suo utendi dalmaticis licentiam præberemus. Sed quia ita hominum suorum infirmitate compulsus festinanter abscessit, ut nec ipse mæror incumbens diu, ut dignum erat, et res desiderata poscebat, sineret imminere: et nos in multis implicitos ut Ecclesiasticæ rationis consideratio novum hoc inconsulte et subito non permetteret indulgere: idcirco postulatæ rei prolongatus effectus est. Nunc vero charitatis tuæ bona revocantes ad animum, hujus autoritatis nostræ serie, petita concedimus, atque te et archidiaconum tuum Dalmaticarum usu decorandos esse concessimus, easdemque Dalmaticas, dilectissimo filio nostro Cyriaco Abbate deferente, transmisimus.

XXV.

S. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE.

OF THE INSIGNIA OF CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD.

[IN the second book of the *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, St. Isidore¹¹⁴ treats at length of the various orders of the Christian ministry. The following passages serve to indicate what in his time were regarded as the characteristic insignia of the clergy]:

CAP. VII.

Quod detonso capite superius, inferius circuli corona relinquitur, sacerdotium regnumque ecclesiæ in eis existimo figurari. Tiara enim apud veteres constituebatur in capite sacerdotum. Hæc ex bysso confecta, rotunda erat quasi sphaera media; et hoc significatur in parte capitis tonsa. Corona autem, latitudo aurei est circuli quæ regum capita cingit. Utrumque igitur signum exprimitur in capite clericorum, ut impleatur etiam quadam corporis similitudine quod scriptum est, Petro apostolo prædocente, Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium.

“The cutting off the hair from the upper part of the head, and leaving it in the form of a crown, lower down, is in my judgment a figurative setting forth of the priesthood and royalty of the Church. For with God’s ancient people it was customary to place a tiara on the heads of priests. This ‘tiara’ was made of byssus, and was round like a sphere, divided in twain; and this it is which is signified by the part of the head which is shorn. But the chaplet of hair represents the broad circlet of gold which encompasses the heads of kings. Each of these emblems therefore is expressed on the heads of the clergy, so as by outward similitude to set forth that which is written, in the teaching of the apostle Peter, *You are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood.*”

¹¹⁴ S. Isidore was born at Carthage about the year 560 A.D., and died A.D. 636.

CAP. V.

THE PASTORAL STAFF AND EPISCOPAL RING.

Huic (sc. Episcopo) dum consecratur datur baculus ut ejus indicio subditam plebem vel regat, vel corrigit, vel infirmitates infirmorum sustineat. Datur et anulus propter signum pontificalis honoris, vel signaculum secretorum. Nam multa sunt quæ carnalium minusque intelligentium sensibus occultantes sacerdotes quasi sub signaculo abscondunt, ne indignis quibusque sacramenta Dei aperiantur.

“To the bishop at the time of his consecration is given a staff, that, as this sign suggests, he may both rule and correct the people committed to his care, and support the infirmities of such as are weak. A ring likewise is given him, for the signifying of pontifical dignity, or to be as it were a seal for guarding of things secret. For many things there are which they who minister unto God keep concealed from the knowledge of carnal men and wanting in wise understanding, lest divine mysteries be laid open to such as are unworthy.

CAP. VIII.

OF THE WHITE MINISTERING DRESS WORN
BY DEACONS.

Propterea Altari albis induti assistunt ut cælestem vitam habeant, candidique ad hostias et immaculati accedant, mundi scilicet corpore et pudore incorrupti.

“The reason why they” (the deacons¹¹⁵ of whom he is speaking) “assist at the altar clad in white garments is this, that a heavenly¹¹⁶ life may be theirs, and that bright and pure, and without stain, they may approach unto the holy offerings, being clean in body and in chasteness undefiled.”

¹¹⁵ In Cap. vii, when speaking of the second order of the Christian ministry, S. Isidore says nothing of any distinctive dress or insignia specially characteristic of the Presbyter. But I cannot forbear quoting the following expression of half-humorous severity, which he lets fall in passing. “Presbyters,” he says, “are so called not from any reference to the

decrepitude of old age, but because of the wisdom which is proper to fulness of years. “But this being so,” he adds, “one cannot but wonder why it is that fools are ordained.” *Quod si ita est, mirum cur insipientes ordinentur.*

¹¹⁶ His thought is of the bright white garments in which angels are described as clad.

XXVI.

ST. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE.

ON THE VESTMENTS OF LEVITICAL PRIESTHOOD.

[IN Cap. v. of the same book that has been quoted above, viz. *De Eccles. Off.* Lib. ii., St. Isidore treats of priesthood in general, and has occasion to speak of the vestments worn by Aaron and by his sons. He writes as follows] :—

Veniamus nunc ad sacratissimos ordines clericorum, eorumque originem demonstremus, quod est sacerdotii fundamentum vel quo auctore pontificalis ordo adolevit in seculo. Initium quidem sacerdotii Aaron fuit, quanquam et Melchisedech prior obtulerit sacrificium, et post hunc Abraham, Isaac et Jacob. Sed isti spontanea voluntate, non sacerdotali auctoritate, ista fecerunt. Cæterum Aaron primus in lege sacerdotale nomen accepit, primusque pontificali stola indutus victimas obtulit, jubente Domino ac loquente ad Moysen, Accipe, inquit, Aaron et filios ejus, et adplicabis ad ostium Tabernaculi Testimonii: cumque laveris patrem cum filiis indues Aaron vestimentis suis, id est Linea et Tunica et Superhumerali et Rationali, quod constringes balteo, et pones tiaram, et oleum unctionis fundes super caput ejus, atque hoc ritu consecrabitur. Filios quoque illius adplicabis et indues tunicis lineis, cingesque balteo, Aaron scilicet et liberos ejus, et impones eis mitras eruntque sacerdotes mei lege perpetua. Quo loco contemplari oportet Aaron summum sacerdotem id est episcopum fuisse. Nam filios ejus presbyterorum figuram præmonstrasse. Fuerunt enim filii Aaron et ipsi sacerdotes quibus merito adstare debuissent Levitæ, sicut summo sacerdoti. Sed hoc fuit inter summum sacerdotem Aaron et filios ejusdem Aaron, qui et ipsi sacerdotes fuerunt, quod Aaron super tunicam accipiebat poderem stolam¹¹⁷ sanctam, coronam auream,

¹¹⁷ It will be seen from the above that the "holy robe" of Aaron was in St. Isidore's judgment something distinct from the white tunic common to Aaron himself and to his sons. And though the mode in which he enumerates the vestments and insignia leaves it open

to doubt, whether by '*Stola*' he means the vesture of the high-priest taken as a whole, or one particular portion of it, the latter seems on the whole more probable; and if so, the "Tunic of Blue" must be the vestment to which he refers.

mitram et zonam auream et Superhumerales, et cætera quæ supra memorata sunt. Filii autem Aaron cincti tantummodo et tiarati ¹¹⁸ *ita adstabant sacrificio Dei.*

¹¹⁸ Note here, that with St. Isidore, the word *corona* (note 54, p. 32) is used in speaking of the distinctive decoration added to the *mitra* of the high-priest, while the sons of Aaron are spoken of as *tiarati*, wearing a "*tiara*." But the same word *tiara* had pre-

viously been used (in quoting from Exodus) of the cap, or linen mitre, worn by the high-priest. [See note 84, p. 52, as to the meaning of "*Tiara*." The passage there quoted from the *De Originibus* of St. Isidore will illustrate his usage of *corona* here.]

XXVII.

ST. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE.

ENUMERATION OF THE VESTMENTS OF
LEVITICAL PRIESTHOOD.

DE ORIGINIBUS, LIB. XIX. CAP. XXI.

[HE enters in this part of his treatise on the subject of dress in general ; and after a few introductory lines as to the original invention of the textile arts, he commences with the "eight kinds of sacerdotal vestments mentioned in the law."]

Octo sunt in lege genera sacerdotalium ¹¹⁹ *vestimentorum. Poderis est tunica sacerdotalis linea, corpori astricta,* ¹²⁰ *usque ad pedes descendens. Unde et nuncupatur, πῶδας enim Græci pedes dicunt. Hæc vulgo camisia* ¹²¹ *vocatur. Abaneth cingulum sacerdotale rotundum polimita arte ex cocco purpura hyacinthoque contextum, ita ut flores atque gemmæ in eo videantur esse distinctæ. Pileum est ex bysso* ¹²² *rotundum quasi sphaera media, caput tegens sacerdotale, et in occipitio vitta constrictum. Hoc Græci et nostri tiaram* ¹²³ *vel galeam* ¹²⁴ *vocant.*

Machil quæ est tunica talaris, tota hyacinthina, habens ad pedes LXXII tintinnabula ; totidemque intermixta ac dependentia punica mala.

Ephod quod Latine interpretatur superindumentum. Erat enim pal-

¹¹⁹ He uses the term, inclusively, of both high priest, and priest of the second order. Compare note 61.

¹²⁰ On this closeness of fit here noticed, see above, note 6, p. 2.

¹²¹ He follows St. Jerome in comparing the *tunica talaris* of the Levitical priest to the *camisia* of ordinary life in his own time. See note 23, p. 13.

¹²² On the word *Byssus* (βύσσης) see note 5, p. 2. The word was never so naturalised in the Latin language as to pass into common use. St. Isidore speaks of it as a term whose real meaning was doubtful. "*Byssina candida*

confecta ex quodam genere lini grossioris. Sunt et qui genus quoddam lini byssum esse existiment." Etym. lib. xix. cap. xxii.

¹²³ For the word *Tiara*, see note 84, p. 52.

¹²⁴ Of several various readings which are here found (due to the ignorance of copyists when classical terms are concerned), the true one is probably *galerum*. This was a word specially used of the sacerdotal cap of heathen priesthood (see Index in voc). At a later time the scarlet hat, assigned to the Roman cardinals by Innocent IV. (at the Council of Lyons, A.D. 1244), was known as *galerus rubeus*. See Dufresne Glossar. in voc.

lium¹²⁵ superhumerales ex quattuor coloribus et auro contextum, habens in utroque humero lapides duos smaragdinos auro conclusos, in quibus sculpta erant nomina patriarcharum.

Logicon quod Latine dicitur rationale, pannus duplex, auro et quattuor textus coloribus, habens magnitudinem palmi per quadrum, cui intexti erant quattuor¹²⁶ pretiosissimi lapides. Hic pannus super humerales [Leg. superhumerali] contra pectus Pontificis annectebatur.

Petalum aurea lamina in fronte Pontificis, quæ nomen Dei tetragrammatum Hebraicis literis habebat scriptum.

Batin (sic) sive feminalia, id est braciæ lineæ usque ad genua pertingentes, quibus verecunda sacerdotis velabantur.

[Having thus enumerated the vestments of Levitical priesthood, he goes on to describe briefly every other known garment belonging either to male or to female dress. Interspersed among such terms as *Toga*, *Chlamys*, *Sagum*, *Mantum*, *Prætexta*, we find the following] : —

PALLIUM.

*Pallium*¹²⁷ est quo administrantium scapulæ conteguntur, ut dum ministrant expeditius discurrant.¹²⁸ Plautus : Si quid facturus es appende in humeris pallium, et pergat quantum valet tuorum pedum pernecitas. Dictum autem pallium a pellibus, quia prius super indumenta pellicea veteres induiebantur, quasi pellea, sive a palla per diminutionem.

PENULA.

*Penula est pallium*¹²⁹ cum fimbriis longis.

¹²⁵ *Pallium*. St. Isidore generally uses this word as a generic term, nearly equal to our own "garment," requiring some special description to indicate any special article of dress. Thus the *paludamentum* is described as *insigne pallium Imperatorum*; the *penula* as *pallium cum fimbriis longis*; the *lacerna* as *pallium fimbriatum quo olim soli milites utebantur*. So again of the *prætexta puerilis*, the *penula*, and many others. A more specific use of the word will be noticed below. See note 127.

¹²⁶ We can hardly suppose that this mistake of four for twelve is due to St. Isidore. Probably the eye of the copyist was caught, or his memory misled, by the *quattuor*, which had just preceded, in speaking of the colours.

¹²⁷ The *Pallium* here noticed is the Greek *ἱμάτιον*, the outer garment or wrapper, worn occasionally at least by persons of all conditions of life, as already noticed in the Introduction

(see Index in *voc.*) It corresponded in general use to the Roman *toga*, but in the earlier Roman language (that of republican times) was as distinctly suggestive of a Greek costume as the *toga* of that of Rome.

¹²⁸ St. Isidore has been led into error by this particular passage of Plautus. The *pallium* in itself was no more suited for vigorous exertion than the *toga* or the *penula*. And it is precisely for this reason that in this passage of Plautus (*Captiv. Act. iv. Sc. 1*) Ergasilus, the Parasite, says, *eodem pacto ut comici servi solent coniciam in collum pallium, primo ex me hanc rem ut audiat, i.e. he will gather his cloak about his shoulders to enable him to run the faster*. But so to carry the *pallium* was the exception, not, as St. Isidore seems to think, the rule.

¹²⁹ On this generic use of *pallium* see above, note 125.

OF THE CASULA.

*Casula*¹³⁰ est vestis cucullata, dicta per diminutionem a casa, quod totum hominem tegat, quasi minor casa. Unde et cuculla quasi minor cella. Sic et Græce planetas dictos volunt, quia oris errantibus evagantur. Unde et stellæ planetæ, id est vagæ suo errore motuque discurrunt.

OF THE DALMATIC.

[Throughout this portion of his Treatise St. Isidore gives but one slight intimation of any vestment which he regards as belonging to offices of Christian ministry. He is describing various modifications of the *tunic*, and amongst others mentions the Dalmatic.]

*Dalmatica*¹³¹ vestis primum in Dalmatia, provincia Græciæ, texta est, tunica sacerdotalis candida, cum clavis ex purpura.

¹³⁰ This definition of the *casula*, or "chafuble" is quoted by almost all writers on ritual, ancient and modern. But as far as I have observed, none have noticed a remarkable confirmation of the derivation here assigned being really correct. From another passage of St. Isidore (De Off. Eccl. lib. v.) it is clear that in his time, at least, the word *casula* was really used in the sense of a *hut*, or "*minor casa*." He is speaking of Elias and Elisha, and other such, and says, *habitabant in solitudine, urbibusque relictis faciebant sibi casulas prope fluentia Jordanis*.

¹³¹ For further particulars of this vestment

see Index in *voc*. It is evident that by *sacerdotalis* reference is here made not to Jewish or to heathen, but to Christian *sacerdotes*. [Compare note 71.] From very early times (those of S. Silvester according to Roman tradition) the Dalmatic had been adopted as a ministering vestment of the Church at Rome. And to this Roman usage St. Isidore probably makes reference in this passage. But it is open to question, as far as this passage is concerned, whether by *sacerdotalis* is meant *episcopal*, or in a more general sense, *sacerdotal*. Compare note 71, p. 46.

XXVIII.

ACTS OF THE FOURTH COUNCIL OF TOLEDO.

HELD UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF ST. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, A.D. 633.

[THE acts of this Council are throughout of great interest, in their bearing upon questions of ecclesiastical antiquity. The sections of special interest to the question now under discussion are the following]:—

INSIGNIA OF CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

§ XXVIII. *Episcopus, presbyter, aut diaconus, si a gradu suo injuste dejectus in secunda synodo innocens reperiatur, non potest esse quod fuerat nisi gradus amissos recipiat coram altario de manu episcopi; [si episcopus]*¹³² *orarium, annulum et baculum: si presbyter, orarium et planetam: si diaconus, orarium et albam: si subdiaconus, patenam et calicem: sic et reliqui gradus ea in reparationem sui recipiant quæ eum ordinarentur perceperunt.*

“If a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, be unjustly deposed, and in a subsequent synod be found innocent, he cannot be what he had previously been, unless he receive again the rank he had lost from the hand of a bishop, before the altar. If he have been a bishop, he must receive *orarium* (*i.e.* stole), ring, and staff; if a presbyter, *orarium* and *planeta* (*i.e.* chasuble); if a deacon, *orarium* and alb; if a sub-deacon, paten and chalice; and so the other minor orders are to receive, with a view to their restoration, what at the time of ordination they originally received.”

§ XL. *Orariis duobus nec episcopo quidem licet, nec presbytero uti, quanto*

¹³² The words *si episcopus*, are not in the present text, though evidently required by the context. The word *EPĪ* (*i.e.* *episcopi*) just before would easily be confused in translation with the *EP̄S* here required.

*magis diacono qui minister eorum est. Unum igitur orarium oportet Levitam gestare in sinistro humero, propter quod orat, id est prædicat.*¹³³ *dextram autem partem oportet habere liberam ut expeditus ad ministerium sacerdotale discurrat. Caveat igitur amodo Levita gemino uti orario, sed uno tantum et puro nec ullis coloribus aut auro ornato.*

“Not even a bishop, or a presbyter, is allowed to wear two *oraria* (stoles), how much less a deacon who is their attendant minister. The deacon therefore must wear one *orarium*, as befits his office, and that on the left shoulder. But the right side should remain free, so that he may hasten to and fro in duties of sacerdotal service. The [“Levite”] deacon therefore, from this time forth, must not wear his *orarium* double. He should wear but one, and that plain, not decked out with any colours, nor with gold.”

§ XLI. *Omnes clerici vel lectores, sicut Levitæ et sacerdotes, detonso superius toto capite inferius solam circuli coronam relinquunt: non sicut hucusque in Galliciæ partibus facere lectores videntur, qui prolixis ut laici comis in solo capitis apice modicum circulum tondent. Ritus enim iste in Hispania hucusque hæreticorum fuit. Unde oportet ut pro amputando ecclesiæ scandalo hoc signum dedecoris auferatur, et una sit tonsura, vel habitus, sicut totius Hispaniæ est usus. Qui autem hoc non custodierit fidei catholicæ reus erit.*

“All clerks, or Readers, as well as Levites and priests, are to cut off the hair from the whole of the upper part of the head, and leave only a circular band of hair beneath; not as hitherto in parts of Galicia appears to have been done by Readers, who, wearing their hair long like laymen, cut a scanty circle only on the very top of the head. For in Spain this fashion has been confined hitherto to heretics. To remove therefore all occasion of offence in the Church, this mark of unseemliness must be done away, and one mode of tonsure, and

¹³³ *Propter quod orat id est prædicat.* St. Isidore was a student of Etymology, as his xx. books *De Originibus* testify. But with him, as with other ancient writers, whether Greek or Latin, etymology is a weak point. To understand what he means here the reader must bear in mind that he uses *orat* with reference to its (probable) root meaning “speaks;” and that *prædicare* here does not mean “preach”

in the modern sense of the word, but like *κηρύσσειν*, “to make proclamation.” He alludes to the office of the deacon in “uttering aloud” the various directions to the people which occur in the course of the Liturgy, and more particularly perhaps to the duty, often assigned to a deacon of reading (“*Apostolum*”) the Epistle, or the Gospel, of the day.

of dress, prevail, in accordance with the usage of the whole of Spain. To disregard this will be an offence against the Catholic faith."

It is evident from these canons that in Spain, at the beginning of the 7th century, the "orarium," or stole, was worn both by bishops and presbyters, and by deacons, though, by the latter, in a distinctive manner, on the left shoulder only. Also that the staff and ring were regarded as special insignia of a bishop; the *planeta* as the proper vestment of a Presbyter; and the Alb, or white tunic, of a Deacon.

XXIX.

VENERABLE BEDE.¹³⁴

ON THE LEVITICAL VESTMENTS.

OUR countryman Bede, writing early in the eighth century, in his treatise *De Tabernaculo* (lib. iii. cap. ii. sqq.), enters at considerable length upon the subject of the vestments of the Aaronic priesthood. He lays¹³⁵ it down as a general principle that the ordination and the dress of the Levitical priesthood is in this wise properly applicable to the priesthood of the Christian Church, that the outward splendour which in the former times shone brightly in an ornate vesture, shall now, spiritually understood, be inwardly conspicuous in the hearts of them who serve in holy ministry to God. And in the acts of them who minister, there should be an outward glory also,—a glory beyond what is seen in the good works of the faithful generally. He adds,¹³⁶ that what is written in Holy Scripture, concerning Aaron, and the vestments of Levitical priesthood, may be understood primarily in reference to our Lord; but that it becomes us rather to consider therein what pertaineth to our own godly conversation in Him, and also what hath regard to correction of life and manners.

In accordance with this general view is the meaning which he attributes to the several vestments which he proceeds to enumerate. These are

¹³⁴ Bede was born (probably) in the year 673 A.D., and died A.D. 735.

¹³⁵ Cap. ii. The original is as follows, *Descripta factura tabernaculi consequenter sacerdotes qui in eo ministrant ordinantur. Quorum quidem ordinatio et habitus recte ecclesiæ sacerdotibus congruit ita ut omne quod illic in ornatu vestium clarum extrinsecus fulgebat hoc intellectu*

spiritualiter in ipsis sacerdotum nostrorum mentibus altum intus emineat, hoc in eorum actibus præ cæteris fidelium meritis foris gloriosum clarescat.

¹³⁶ *Ibid. in fin. Hæc quidem ita principaliter de Domino possunt accipi; sed nos magis in eis quæ ad significantiam nostræ in Domino piæ conversationis pertineant, quæque ad correctionem nostrorum respiciant morum, decet intueri.*

I. THE SUPERHUMERAL OR EPHOD.

This being so worn as to cover *the shoulders*, he regards [cap. iv.] it as typical of the labour¹³⁷ of good works, of “the easy yoke, and light burden,” spoken of by our Lord.

2. THE “RATIONAL,” OR BREASTPLATE.

This is interpreted [cap. v.] of the purity of heart and thought which becometh one highest in holy ministry to God. And whereas *Doctrina et Veritas*,—doctrine and truth,—were to be inscribed either literally or sacramentally upon that “breastplate,” this was (so he writes) for this end, that it might the more clearly appear that this ornament was not only a part of the actual vesture of the older High Priest, but was also an announcement beforehand of evangelic truth, having reference either to our Lord Himself, or to His Apostles, or indeed to all who proclaim before men the same grace and the same truth as they.

3. THE TUNIC OF BLUE.

He says that this outer tunic of the high-priest’s dress was of full length, reaching to the feet, like to the inner tunic of linen. He adds, that to be clothed in a tunic of blue, even to the feet, is to persevere in good works even to our life’s end.

4. THE PLATE OF GOLD.

The golden plate upon the forehead of the high-priest is significant of the assurance of our “profession,” which we bear upon our brow, saying each one in the words of the apostle, “*God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.*”¹³⁸

5. THE INNER TUNIC OF LINEN.

By linen, or byffus, is meant (so all, he says, agree) Christian continence, and bodily chastity. And Christian priests (61 ζ) may then be said to have the close fitting linen vestment, or tunic, of

¹³⁷ Compare note 35, p. 22.

¹³⁸ Compare St. Jerome quoted above, p. 24,

Quod olim in lamina monstrabatur, nunc in signo ostenditur crucis.

byffus, when they maintain in full vigour the life of continence to which they have devoted themselves.

6. OF THE "TIARA," OR PRIESTLY CAP.

"The Tiara, which was also called 'cidaris' and 'mitra,' was at once a covering and an ornament to the head of the High Priest; that by this he might be admonished, that all the senses" (having their seat *in the head*) "should be ever consecrated to God." He goes on to say that after comparing the accounts given in Holy Scripture, and in Josephus, much remains still uncertain as to the material and the colour of these caps or mitres, and of the *coronulæ* or encircling bands, whether of linen or of gold, by which they were encompassed. But their figurative meaning, he thinks, is such as this. "Priestly caps (*mitræ*) and encircling bands of linen, are worn by Christian priests (*sacerdotes*, 61 ζ), who so maintain, in the beauty of chastity, both Sight, Hearing, Taste, Smell, and Touch, as that they may hope in requital thereof to receive from God that crown of life which He hath promised to such as love Him."

7. OF THE PRIEST'S GIRDLE.

Whereas, by the wearing of a linen tunic is signified the dedicating the whole body to the bright purity of a chaste life, so may Christian priests (61 ζ) be said to encompass this tunic with a girdle, when with such vigilance and circumspection they guard their purity as that they shall not through self-satisfaction become inactive in good works.

8. ON THE LINEN DRAWERS.

These, which are to be worn, as he remarks, both by Aaron and by the other priests, he considers as designating *illam castimoniam portionem quæ ab appetitu copulæ conjugalis cohibet, sine qua nemo vel sacerdotium suscipere vel ad altaris potest ministerium consecrari, id est, si non aut virgo permanserit aut contractæ uxoriæ conjunctionis fœdera solverit.*¹³⁹

¹³⁹ The original passage, which I have abbreviated as above, is of very great length. In it Bede follows, and that professedly, "the Fathers;" for so, even in Bede's time, St. Jerome and St. Augustine and other such *Doctores Ecclesiæ*, were styled. Like them, he

assigns throughout a figurative meaning to the Levitical vestments, without alluding in any way to any literal vestments, proper to Christian priesthood, which had been modelled upon those described in Exodus and Leviticus.

9. THE UNDER GIRDLE OF THE HIGH PRIEST.

Before quitting the subject, he observes that whereas eight vestments are mentioned in Exodus as proper to the high-priest, a ninth seems to be added in Leviticus, viz., a belt (*baltheus*), with which the linen tunic was girt in before the putting on of the tunic of blue. But this belt or girdle he seems to consider as a figurative expression only, not as anything actually worn (cap. ix. *in fin.*).

XXX.

GERMANUS
PATRIARCHA CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS.¹⁴⁰

THE TONSURE, THE CHRISTIAN VESTMENTS, AND
THE DRESS OF MONKS.

Μυστική Θεωρία, p. 206.

Τὸ ξύρισμα τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ τὸ γυροειδὲς αὐτοῦ τμήμα τὸ μέσον τῶν τριχῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀκανθίνου στεφάνου ὅνπερ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐφόρεσεν. Ὁ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἱερέως περικείμενος διπλοῦς στέφανος ἐκ τῆς τῶν τριχῶν σημειώσεως εἰκονίζει τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου τιμίαν κάραν, ἣν, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ διδασκάλου κηρύγματι ἀποσταλεῖς, καὶ καρεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπειθούντων τῷ λόγῳ, ὡς ἐμπαιζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ταύτην ὁ διδάσκαλος Χριστὸς ἠυλόγησε, καὶ ἐποίησε τὴν ἀτιμίαν τιμὴν, καὶ τὴν χλεῦν ἐῖς δόξαν, καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφανον, οὐκ ἐκ λίθων τιμίων, ἀλλὰ τῷ λίθῳ καὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ ἐκλάμπουσαν, ὑπὲρ χρυσοῦν καὶ τοπάζιον καὶ λίθους τιμίους. Κορυφὴ γὰρ κεκαλλωπισμένη καὶ στέφανος τοῦ ὁδοκαλίθου, οἱ ἀπόστολοί εἰσι· πέτρα δὲ ὁ παναγιώτατος ἀπόστολος ὑπάρχει ἀρχιεράρχης τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Ἡ στολή¹⁴¹ τοῦ ἱερέως ὑπάρχει κατὰ τὸν ποδήρη Ἀαρὼν, τουτέστιν ἱμάτιον ὃ ἐστὶν ἱερατικὸν ἔνδυμα, τὸ μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν, τὸ τιμιώτατον. Ἔστι δὲ πυροειδὴς κατὰ τὸν προφῆτην τὸν λέγοντα· ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον. Καὶ πάλιν· τίς οὗτος ὁ παραγενόμενος ἐξ Ἐδώμ; Ἐδώμ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται γήϊνος, ἢ ἐκλεκτός, ἢ κόκκινος. Εἶτα ἐπάγει· Ἐρύθημα ἱματίων αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἀμπέλου Βοσώρ. Διὰ τί σου ἐρύθη τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματά σου ὡς ἀπὸ πατητοῦ ληνοῦ; ἐμφαίνοντος τὴν βαφεῖσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ στολὴν τῆς σαρκὸς ἐν αἵμασιν, ἐν τῇ ἀχράντῳ αὐτοῦ σταυρῷ. Πάλιν δὲ ὅτι καὶ

¹⁴⁰ It is matter of question among critics to which of the two patriarchs named Germanus this treatise should be referred. Of these two one was appointed to the See of Constantinople in the year 715 A.D., and was afterwards deposed by the Emperor Leo. The other Germanus was made patriarch of Con-

stantinople A.D. 1222, but resided at Nicæa, the metropolitan city being then in the hands of the Latins. De La Bigne and other editors assign the work to the older Germanus, who lived in the eighth century. A comparison of the present passage with that from the pseudo-Chrysostom given above,

XXX.

S. GERMANUS ¹⁴⁰ OF CONSTANTINOPLE.THE TONSURE, THE CHRISTIAN VESTMENTS,
AND THE DRESS OF MONKS.

RERUM ECCLESIASTICARUM THEORIA, p. 135.

THE tonsure of the priest's head, and the circle cut away in the midst of the hair, is in place of the crown of thorns worn by Christ. The double circlet, marked out by the hair of the head, sets forth in semblance the honoured head of apostle Peter, which, when he was sent forth to preach the Gospel of His Lord and Master, was shorn in mockery by them that were disobedient to the word. But the head that was so shorn Christ did bless, and made dishonour to be unto him for honour, and mockery to be to him for glory; and set upon his head a crown, not made of costly stones, but radiant with light from the stone and rock of His faith, above the brightness of gold and topaz and precious stones. For the adorned head, and the coronal of twelve stones, are the apostles; and by the rock is meant the most holy apostle, chief in the hierarchy of Christ.

The vesture ¹⁴¹ of the priest accordeth with the long tunic (ποδήρης) of Aaron, being an outer garment worn by priests, reaching down to the feet, and of highest honour. The colour thereof is as of fire, according to the word of the prophet, "*Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming fire.*" And again, "*Who is this that cometh from Edom?*" For this word "Edom" is by interpretation either "earthy," or "elect," or "scarlet in colour." And then he addeth, "*The redness of his garments is of the vineyard of Bosor. Why are thy garments red, and thy vesture as from the treading out of the*

p. 51, and that from patriarch Symeon of Thessalonica later in this volume, will, I think, confirm their judgment.

¹⁴¹ ἡ στολή. By the word στολή here used, we are to understand not the "stole" technically so called (this is a western usage of "stole," dating from the eighth century), but

what was in the East regarded as the characteristic vestment of Christian priesthood, viz. the φελώνιον (see note 143), of which he says that it resembles the "long tunic" of Aaron in respect of its descending even to the feet. [On ὁ στολή and stola, see further remarks in note 50.]

κοκκίνην χλαμύδα¹⁴² ἐφόρεσεν ἐν τῷ πάθει ὁ Χριστὸς, ἐμφαίνουσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ποίου ἀρχιερέως εἶσιν ὑπασπισταί. Τὸ δὲ ἀπεζωσμένοις τοὺς ἱερεῖς περιπατεῖν φελωνίαις,¹⁴³ δείκνυσιν ὅτι καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἀπερχόμενος οὕτως ἦν βασιτάζων τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ. Ἐν ταῖς ἄνω λαμπρότησι τῶν νοερῶν οὐρανίων λειτουργῶν, προφητῶν καὶ ἱεραρχῶν, εἰσὶ πρεσβύτεροι εἴκοσι τέσσαρες, καὶ διάκονοι ἑπτὰ· οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν Σεραφικῶν δυνάμεων εἰσι, ταῖς μὲν στολαῖς δικὴν πετερόγων κατακεκαλυμμένοι, ταῖς δὲ δυοὶ πτέρυξι τῶν χειλέων τὸν ὕμνον βοῶντες, καὶ κατέχοντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ νοητὸν ἄνθρωπον Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῇ λαβίδι τῆς χειρὸς φανερώς φέροντες.

Οἱ δὲ διάκονοι εἰς τύπον τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων ταῖς λεπταῖς τῶν λεπτῶν ὠραρίων¹⁴⁴ πτέρυξιν, ὡς λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα περιτρέχουσι.

Πρῶτον μὲν τὸ στιχάριον,¹⁴⁵ λευκὸν ὄν, τῆς θεότητος τὴν αἴγλην ἐμφαίνει, καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως τὴν λαμπρὰν πολιτείαν. Τὰ λωρία¹⁴⁶ τοῦ στιχαρίου εἰσι, τὰ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, ἐμφαίνοντα τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· δῆσαντες γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγον πρὸς Καιάφαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸν Πιλάτον. Τὰ λωρία τὰ εἰς τὰ πλάγια εἰσὶ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ῥεῦσαν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ.

Τὸ περιτραχήλιον ἐστὶ τὸ φακεώλιον,¹⁴⁷ μεθ' οὗ ἐπεφέρετο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως δεδεμένος, καὶ συρόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσθεν ἐπὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ ὁ Χριστὸς, ἐν τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ ἀπερχόμενος. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐπιτραχήλιου δεξιὸν μέρος πέφηνεν ὁ κάλαμος ὃν ἔδωκαν ἐμπαίζοντες τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐξ εὐωνύμου μέρους ἡ τοῦ σταυροῦ βασταγὴ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ.

Ἡ δὲ ζώνη ἦν περιζώννυται πέφηνεν ἡ εὐπρέπεια ἣν ὁ Χριστὸς βασιλεύσας εὐπρεπῇ περιεζώσατο δυνάμει τῆς θεότητος.

Τὸ δὲ φελώνιον ἐμφαίνει τὴν ἀπὸ κοκκίνου πορφύραν, ἣνπερ τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐμπαίζοντες οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ἐφόρεσαν. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ στολὴ τοῦ βαπτίσματος.

Τὸ ὠμοφόριον¹⁴⁸ ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κατὰ τὴν στολὴν τοῦ Ἀαρὼν ἣνπερ ἐφόρου

¹⁴² Κοκκίνην χλαμύδα. He refers to Matt. xxviii. 28. The χλαμύς of the Greeks answered to the *sagum* (note 5, p. iv.) or *paludamentum* of the Romans, among whom, however, the word *chlamys* itself was naturalized. It was a short cloak, sometimes used by travellers, but in nine cases out of ten spoken of as part of a soldier's dress, and for this reason occasionally also of an emperor's, who was (as his name *Imperator* implies) a king regarded in the character of commander-in-chief. In shape it was not unlike the cavalry cloak worn in our own army.

¹⁴³ φελώνιον is a later form (note 152) of φαινόλη, of which *pænula* is the Latin equivalent.

¹⁴⁴ ὠράριον, equal to *orarium*, one of the many Latin words which the later Greek

naturalized. Compare notes 146, 147, and 151. As an ecclesiastical term, it appears only to be used of the deacon's "stole," as we now call it, not as in Latin of the corresponding vestment (*περιτραχήλιον*) worn by priests. But a passage of Symeon of Thessalonica (*De Sacris Ordinationibus*, p. 145) seems clearly to show that the same vestment which was called ὠράριον, as worn on one shoulder by the deacon (and probably also when named simply as an ecclesiastical vestment), became an ἐπιτραχήλιον or περιτραχήλιον, when worn round the neck, and pendent from it, by a priest. See the passage in Dufresne *in voc.* ἐπιτραχήλιον.

¹⁴⁵ Τὸ στιχάριον λευκὸν ὄν. This στιχάριον of the Greeks corresponds to the *tunica alba* (or "alba" simply) of the Western Church.

grape?” By this is signified the vesture of Christ’s flesh, dyed red with blood on His immaculate cross. And again, because in His passion Christ was clothed with a scarlet robe,¹⁴² in this too do His chief priests show what manner of High-priest He is under whom they serve.

Then for that of the priests walking with Phelonion¹⁴³ unconfined by any girdle, this sheweth how that Christ also, when about to depart this life upon the cross, did after the like manner bear His cross. Amid the supernal glories of the unseen heavenly ministry, prophets and hierarchs, there are four and twenty elders (or “presbyters”), and seven deacons. The elders have the semblance of the seraphic powers, and with their robes they cover themselves as with wings; and with the two wings of their lips they lift up the voice of praise, and upon the altar they lay hold upon Him who is the divine and spiritual Coal, even Christ, bearing Him openly in the forceps of the hand. But the deacons, figuring forth the angelic hosts, with the light wings of their light stoles,¹⁴⁴ haste onward, as ministering spirits sent forth for the service of men.

And first the “sticharion,”¹⁴⁵ being white, signifieth the splendour of Godhead, and the bright purity of life which becometh Christian priests. The stripes¹⁴⁶ of the sticharion upon the wristband of the sleeve, are significant of the bands wherewith Christ was bound; for they bound Him and led Him away to Caiaphas the high-priest, and to Pilate. The stripes across the robe itself signify the blood which flowed from Christ’s side upon the cross. The Peritrachelion is the band¹⁴⁷ wherewith He was taken bound from the palace of the high-priest, and dragged on by the neck, at the time of His passion. By the right side of the Epitrachelion is showed the reed which they put in mockery into the right hand of Christ. And by the left part thereof the bearing of the cross upon His shoulders.

The girdle, wherewith the priest girdeth himself about, signifieth the beauty wherewith Christ, entering upon His kingdom, did gird Himself withal, even the beauteous majesty of Godhead.

In the Phelonion we may see the scarlet robe which those ungodly ones, in mockery of Jesus, did put upon Him. And this serveth also as the robe of baptism.

The Omophorion¹⁴⁸ belongeth to one chief in priestly ministry to

¹⁴⁶ λώριον. An adaptation, in a late Greek form, of the Latin *lorum*.

¹⁴⁷ φακιώλιον (*aliter φακιόλιον*), probably a Byzantine corruption from *fasciola*. Compare note 152 below.

¹⁴⁸ Assuming that *περιτίθεντες* is rightly read here, the word can grammatically apply only to *οἱ ἐν νόμῳ ἀρχιερεῖς*. But there is no part of the Aaronic vestments which by any stretch of imagination could be described as “put

οἱ ἐν νόμῳ ἀρχιερεῖς, σουδαρίοις μακροῦς τὸν εὐώνυμον ὤμον περιτίθεντες, κατὰ τὸν ζύγον τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τὸ δὲ ὠμοφόριον ὃ περιβέβληται ὁ ἐπίσκοπος δηλοῖ τὴν τοῦ προβάτου δοράν, ὅπερ πλανώμενον ¹⁴⁹ εὐρών ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ ἀνέλαβε καὶ σὺν τοῖς μὴ πεπλανημένοις ἤρθθη. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ σταυροῦς, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου βαστάσαι τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ. Ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ θέλοντες κατὰ Χριστὸν ζῆν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αἰρουσι τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ ὃ ἐστιν ἡ κακοπάθεια· σύμβολον γὰρ κακοπαθείας ὁ σταυρός.

Τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα ἐστὶ κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ ἐρημοπολίτου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου· ὅτι τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ἦν ἐκ τριχῶν καμήλου καὶ ζώνη δεσματίνη περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν αὐτοῦ. Τὸ δὲ κείρεσθαι τὴν κάραν ὀλοτελῶς κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. Τὰ δὲ ἀναβόλαια ¹⁵⁰ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὰ ἀναβόλαια ἅπερ ἐφόρουσιν ἱμάτια. Τὰ δὲ κουκούλλια ¹⁵¹ κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα ἀπόστολον ὅτι ἐσταύρωται ¹⁵² μοι ὁ κόσμος, καὶ γὰρ τῷ κόσμῳ.

Τὸ δὲ μανδῖον ¹⁵³ ἐμφαῖνον διὰ τῆς ἀπολελυμένης ἀπλώσεως τὴν πτερωτικὴν [deest ταχύτητα vel fimile aliquid] τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων μιμήσεως καθότι ἀγγέλικοι σχῆμα λέγεται.

Ἡ δὲ ὀθόνη ¹⁵⁴ μεθ' ἧς λειτουργοῦσιν οἱ διάκονοι δηλοῖ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ταπεινώσιν, ἣν ἐνεδείξατο ἐν τῷ νιπτῆρι. Τὸ δὲ ἐργχείριον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης ἐστὶ τό ἀπόμαζαν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ λέντιον. Καὶ πέφυκε τὸ ἐργχείριον ἔχον ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης ἀντίτυπον τοῦ ἀπομάξαντος τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοῦ Ἀθῶος εἰμι ἐπιφωνήσαντος.

about the left shoulder with long bands or kerchiefs." I believe therefore that there is some corruption of the text here, or else some forgetfulness of strict grammatical construction. Reference seems to be made to the way in which the Christian ὠμοφόριον was doubled back over the left shoulder, and hung down the back, while the other end hung pendent (like the extremity of the archiepiscopal *pallium*) in front.

¹⁴⁹ These words are taken all but *verbatim* from S. Isidore of Pelusium, quoted above, p. 49.

¹⁵⁰ Τὰ ἀναβόλαια. The diminutive ἀνωβολάδιον appears in Latin as *anaboladium*, which again was corrupted into *ambolagium*. This last is described by Latin writers (see Ducange in

voc.) sometimes as covering the head, sometimes as covering the shoulders. He seems to intimate that the ἀναβόλαια here spoken of correspond with the older *pallium* (note 73.) One end of this was really ἀναβαλλόμενον "thrown up" over the left shoulder.

¹⁵¹ Τὰ κουκούλλια. Another imported Latin word. It is the Latin *cucullus*, our own "cowl," which in mediæval writers appears as *cuculla*. As early as St. Jerome's time this "cowl" is spoken of as worn by monks.

¹⁵² He alludes no doubt to the cros upon the cowl of Eastern Bishops (worn also by the σταυροφόροι, or privileged clergy of the Cathedral Church at Constantinople) which was so placed as to appear upon the forehead, when the cowl was worn upon the head. A similar

God, like to that robe of Aaron which the high-priests wore under the law, putting it about the left shoulder with long bands of linen, even as the yoke of Christ's commandments.

But the Omophorion,¹⁴⁹ wherewith bishops are clad, signifieth the fleece of the sheep which the Lord found wandering, and took it upon His shoulders, and numbered it among them that had not wandered. And this hath crosses marked upon it, because that Christ also bare the cross upon His shoulders. And they that desire to live after Christ's example, they too take up His cross, even the endurance of hardship. For the cross is the symbol of His endurance.

The monastic habit is after the manner of that dweller in the desert, John the Baptist; for his raiment was of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle was about his loins.

They that shave the whole head do it in imitation of the holy apostle James, the "brother of God," and of apostle Paul, and of the rest. And the "anabolæ" ¹⁵⁰ are after the manner of the outer garments which they were wont to wear. The Cowls ¹⁵¹ are in accordance with that of the apostle, who saith, "*The world is crucified* ¹⁵² *unto me, and I unto the world.*"

The cape, ¹⁵³ open as it is and simple, is a symbol of the winged speed of angels, and is spoken of commonly as belonging to the dress of angels.

But the vestment of linen ¹⁵⁴ wherewith the deacons minister at the altar, is in sign of the humility of Christ which He showed in respect of the Basin (when He washed the disciples' feet). And the napkin upon their girdle is the towel wherewith He dried His hands. And this carrying of a napkin upon the girdle is in antitype of him who wiped his hands and cried, "I am innocent."

cowl is to be seen on the head of BENEDICTVS I PAPA ET MONACHVS, in a drawing (unedited as far as I know) in the collection at Windsor.

¹⁵³ Τὸ μανδύον. Again, a neuter form, substituted for the older forms μανδύας and μανδύη. This constant obliteration (*following upon confusion*) of the older distinctions of gender is in the later Greek, as in debased Latin, a natural result of barbarous deteriora-

tion. The word μανδύας is somewhat vaguely used, sometimes of a garment nearly resembling the Latin *paenula*, sometimes of a kind of cape, shaped much like a *sagum* (note 5, p. iv.) See Ferrarius, De Re Vest. Pars ii. Lib. i. cap. ii. The cloak here described is probably the ordinary walking dress of the clergy in the East.

¹⁵⁴ These words are quoted verbatim from S. Isidore of Pelusium (*supra*, p. 49).

XXXI.

RABANVS MAVRVS.¹⁵⁵DE INSTITUTIONE CLERICORUM.¹⁵⁶LIB. I. CAP. 7. THE ALB THE CHARACTERISTIC DRESS OF A DEACON.
POPE SYLVESTER'S ORDINANCES.

Levitæ . . . propterea altari albis induti affistunt, ut hinc admoniti cælestem vitam habeant, candidique ad hostias et immaculati accedant. Quos primus fecit Sylvester Papa, tricesimus quartus pontifex in Romana ecclesia post Petrum, Dalmaticis uti, et constituit ut pallio¹⁵⁷ linostimo eorum læva tegeretur, sicut in gestis pontificalibus continetur.

CAP. 14. THE SACERDOTAL HABIT OF THE 9TH CENTURY
COMPARED WITH THE VESTMENTS OF LEVITICAL PRIESTHOOD.

De veste ergo sacerdotali moderna ad antiquum veteris testamenti habitum comparisonem facientes, secundum maiorum sensum, quid mystice significet, prosequamur.

CAP. 15. OF THE SUPERHUMERAL OR EPHOD.

Primum ergo eorum¹⁵⁸ indumentum est Ephod Bad, quod interpre-

¹⁵⁵ Rabanus (surnamed "Maurus" by his tutor Alcuin), was born A.D. 785, and in 810 was set at the head of the school attached to the monastery of Fulda. He was made Abbot of Fulda in 822, and in 847 became Archbishop of Mayence.

¹⁵⁶ This treatise dates from the year 819 A.D.

¹⁵⁷ This expression has caused difficulty owing to the diversity of meanings in which the word *pallium* occurs (see note 125). The *pallium* (cloth) of linen wool (*linostimum*) which was to cover the left hand of the Roman deacon, is in all probability the *mapula*,

which we find the Roman clergy claiming as exclusively their own in the time of St. Gregory. (Cap. supra, pp. 65 and 66.)

¹⁵⁸ By *eorum* are evidently meant the Levitical priests. And as Rabanus seems to have known of no actual vestment in use by Christian priests which would answer to the Ephod Bad, he follows the older writers in giving to this a spiritual application. The ephod being a covering to the shoulders has reference, he says, to the activity in good works (note 35, p. 22) of one who is to be set over God's people in the Church.

tatur superhumerales lineum, quod significat munditiam bonorum operum. Hinc bene in lege, cum Dominus de veste sacerdotali Moysen instituit, primum de Superhumerali faciendo præcepit, quia quisquis ad sacerdotium magisteriumque populi Dei promovendus est, primum ejus debent opera cognosci, ut dum hoc, quod foris omnibus patet, inreprehensibile patuerit, convenienter ex tempore et integritas cordis ejus, et fidei sincérité scrutetur.

CAP. 16. OF THE ΠΟΔΗΓΗΣ, OR LONG TUNIC.

Secundum est linea tunica, quæ Græce ποδήγης, Latine talaris dicitur, eo quod ad talos usque descendat. Hanc Josephus byssinam vocat, cujus significatio mystica in promptu est. Cum enim constet, lino vel byssō continentiam et castitatem significari, strictam¹⁰¹ habent lineam sacerdotes,¹⁵⁹ cum propositum continentiae non enerviter, sed studiose conservant. Hæc ad talos usque descendit, quia usque ad finem vitæ hujus bonis operibus insistere debet sacerdos, præcipiente ac promittente Domino, *Esto fidelis usque ad mortem, et dabo tibi coronam vitæ.*

CAP. 17. OF THE GIRDLE.

Tertium vestimentum est cingulum sive balteum, quo utuntur ne tunica ipsa defluat, et gressum impediat. Hoc nimirum custodiam mentis significat. Qui enim tunica talari indutus absque cingulo incedit, defluit tunica, ac relicto corpore, ventis et frigoribus intrandi spatium tribuit: quin et præpeditis gressibus, incedendi usum retardat, vel etiam calcantibus se, causa efficitur ruinæ. Ergo lineas induunt sacerdotes, ut castitatem habeant: accinguntur balteis, ne ipsa castitas sit remissa et negligens, ne vento elationis animum perflandi aditum impendat, ne crescente iniquitate refrigerescere faciat charitatem ipsorum, ne bonorum gressus operum¹⁶⁰ jactantia suæ præsumptionis impediat, ne præpedito virtutum cursu ipsa etiam terrestris concupiscentiæ fordibus polluta vilescat, et ad ultimum, Authorem suum ad ruinam superbiendo impellat.

¹⁵⁹ Sacerdotes. On the comprehensive meaning of this term see note 61, p. 39.

¹⁶⁰ Bonorum gressus operum, "the steps of

good works," i.e. the "walk" of the Christian man in all good works for God.

CAP. 18. OF THE MAPPULA, OR PHANON.

Quartum vero, mappula five mantile, sacerdotis indumentum est, quod vulgo phanone¹⁶¹ vocant, quod ob hoc eorum tunc manibus tenetur, quando Missæ officium agitur, ut paratos ad ministerium mensæ Domini populus conspiciat. Mappæ ergo convivii et epularum adpositarum linteamina sunt, unde diminutivum mappula, sicut et mantilia, nunc pro operiendis mensis sunt: quæ, ut nomen ipsorum indicat, olim tergendis manibus præbebantur. Oportet ergo sacerdotes et ministros altaris mappulas manibus tenere, quorum officium est divina sacramenta conficere, ut cum devotione mentis opus spontaneum concordet, digne exerceatur officium, quod pie divino est munere collatum.

CAP. 19. OF THE ORARIUM, WHICH SOME CALL "STOLE."

Quintum quoque est quod orarium dicitur, licet hoc quidam stolam vocent. Hoc enim genere vestis solummodo eis personis uti est concessum, quibus prædicandi¹⁶² officium est delegatum. Bene etiam oratoribus Christi orarium habere convenit, quia cum indumentum eorum officio proprio concinat, et ipsi sedulo ad verbi ministerium cohortentur, et plebs ipsis commissa, indicium salutare conspiciens, ad meditationem legis concurrere ferventius admonetur. Apte ergo orarium collum¹⁶³ simul et pectus tegit sacerdotis, ut inde instruat, quod quicquid ore proferat, tractatu summæ rationis attendat, ut illud apostoli semper in eo impleatur quod dicit (1 Cor. xiv. 15): *Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente: psallam spiritu, psallam et mente*; et iterum (2 Cor. vi.): *Os nostrum ad vos, ô Corinthii, cor nostrum dilatatum est*. Ne forte si improvise et irrationabiliter loquatur, damnum patiatur, Salomone attestante, qui ait (Prov. xvi.): *Cor sapientis erudiet os ejus, et labiis illius addet gratiam*. Item (Prov. xxi.), *Qui custodit os suum, custodit animam suam: qui inconsideratus est ad loquendum, sentiet mala*.

¹⁶¹ *Phanon*, also written *Fanon*. Comp. Alcuinus (quoted later in this book), *Sudarium, quod ad tergendum sudorem in manu gestari mos est, quod usitato nomine Fanonem vocamus*.

¹⁶² *Prædicandi officium*. See p. 76, note 133.

¹⁶³ *Collum . . . pectus . . . ore . . . rationis*. He connects the neck with the voice (comp. Amalarius De Eccl. Off. cap. 17, quoted p. 96), and the breast (see note 38, p. 22) with reason.

CAP. 20. OF THE DALMATIC.¹⁶⁴

Sextum namque est quod Dalmatica a Dalmatia Græciæ provincia, in qua primum texta est, nuncupatur. Hæc vestis in modum est crucis facta,¹⁶⁵ et passionis Domini indicium est. Habet quoque et purpureos tramites ipsa tunica, a summo usque ad ima, ante ac retro descendens [*Leg. descendentes*], necnon et per utramque manicam: ut admoneatur minister Domini per habitus sui speciem, cujus muneris particeps est, ut cum per mysticam oblationem passionis Dominicæ commemorationem agit, ipse in eo fiat hostia Deo acceptabilis.

CAP. 21. OF THE CASULA, OR CHASUBLE.¹⁶⁶

Septimum sacerdotale indumentum est, quod casulam vocant; dicta est autem per diminutionem a casa, eo quod totum hominem tegat, quasi minor casa: hanc Græci planetam nominant. Hæc supremum omnium indumentorum est, et cætera omnia interius per suum munimen tegit et servat. Hanc ergo vestem possumus intelligere charitatem quæ cunctis virtutibus supereminet, et earum decorem suo tutamine protegit et illustrat. Nec enim ullus jam erit virtutum splendor, si non eas charitatis irradiaverit fulgor, quod ostendit Apostolus, dicens (1 Cor. xiii): *Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, charitatem autem non habeam, factus sum sicut æs sonans, aut cymbalum tinniens: Et si habuero prophetiam, et noverim mysteria omnia, et omnem scientiam: et si habuero omnem fidem, ita ut montes transferam, charitatem autem non habuero, nihil mihi prodest. Charitas patiens est, benigna est: Charitas non æmulatur, non agit perperam, non inflatur, non est ambitiosa, non quærit quæ sua sunt, non irritatur, non cogitat malum, non gaudet super iniquitate, congaudet autem veritati. Omnia suffert, omnia credit, omnia sperat, omnia sustinet. Charitas nunquam excidit, et reliqua. Sine hac, nec sacerdos ipse ad altare adpropinquare debet, nec munus offerre, nec preces fundere. Unde veritas ipsa dicit (Matt. vi.): *Si offers munus tuum ad altare, et ibi recordatus fueris, quia frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te,**

¹⁶⁴ Comp. note 131, p. 74 and the letter of S. Gregory quoted p. 67.

¹⁶⁵ *In modum crucis.* He alludes to the appearance presented by this vestment when the

sleeves are stretched out on either side, as in the figures of "*Orantes*."

¹⁶⁶ Comp. note 130, p. 74.

relinque ibi munus tuum ante altare, et vade prius reconciliari fratri tuo, et tunc veniens offeres munus tuum. Et item (Mar. xi.): *Cum stabitis ad orandum, dimittite si quid habetis adversum aliquem, et reliqua.* De hoc itaque spiritali virtutum indumento, Apostolus ad Colossenses ita scripsit (Col. iii.): *Induite, inquit, vos sicut electi Dei, sancti et dilecti, viscera misericordiæ, benignitatem, humilitatem, modestiam, patientiam, et cætera:* Et de charitatis eminentia paulo post subjunxit, dicens: *Super omnia autem hæc charitatem habentes, quod est vinculum perfectionis.*

CAP. 22. OF THE SANDALS.

Induunt quoque sacerdotes pedes sandaliis five soleis, quod genus calceamenti evangelica autoritate eis est concessum, ut Marci evangelium testatur (Mar. vi.): quia hoc calceamentum mysticam significationem habet, ut pes neque tectus sit, neque nudus ad terram, id est, ut nec occultetur evangelium, nec terrenis commodis innitatur. Nam scriptum est in Apostolo (Eph. vi.): *Et calceati pedes in præparatione evangelii pacis.* Sicut ergo sandalia partem pedis tegunt, partem inopertam relinquunt: ita et evangelii doctores partim evangelium operire, partimque aperire debent: ita videlicet, ut fidelis et devotus sufficientem habeat doctrinam, et infidelis et contemptor non inveniat blasphemandi materiam. Admonet etiam et nos hoc genus calceamenti, ut carni nostræ et corpori in necessitatibus consulamus, non in libidinis lasciviam defluamus, de quibus utrisque nos divina lex instruit. Scriptum est enim (Isa. lviii.), *Carnem tuam ne despexeris;* et item (Rom. xiii.): *Carnis curam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis.*

CAP. 23. THE PALLIUM OF AN ARCHBISHOP.

Super hæc autem omnia summo pontifici¹⁶⁷ (qui Archiepiscopus vocatur) propter Apostolicam¹⁶⁸ vicem pallii honor decernitur, quod genus indumenti crucis signaculum purpureo colore exprimit, ut ipso indutus pontifex, a tergo et pectore crucem habeat, suaque mente pie

¹⁶⁷ *Summo Pontifici.* Note that with Raban *Pontifex Summus*, means not "the Pope," but an Archbishop. See above note 45, p. 26.

¹⁶⁸ *Apostolicam vicem.* He means either "Apostolic Office," i.e. office of highest au-

thority in the Church, or (and this, I think more probable) "representation of the Apostolic See," i.e. of Rome. For the phrase *vices Apostolicæ sedis*, see above p. 63.

et digne de passione redemptoris cogitet, ac populo, pro quo dominum deprecatur, redemptionis suæ signaculum demonstret. Condecet quoque bene, ut ipsa Apostolica dignitas Apostolicum virum faciat, ut plena devotione, sano sermone, et digna operatione possit dicere cum Apostolo (Gal. vi.): *Mibi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo.* Hæc quæque de habitu sacerdotali ad sensum secundum modulum ingenoli¹⁶⁹ nostri breviter diximus, non præjudicantes his, qui congruentius et dignius de eadem re possint scribere et plenius disputare.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ *Ingenoli nostri*, &c. This is evidently the expression of one who felt that he had not confined himself to the traditionary teaching "of the Fathers" concerning the spiritual significance of the older Levitical vestments (as typifying Christian virtues), but had advanced something of a new theory of his own on a subject which he evidently supposes that others beside himself are likely to discuss.

¹⁷⁰ The passage above given is of special importance to this inquiry, as in the idea

here suggested of a correspondence between the seven "sacerdotal vestments" of Christian ministry, and the seven vestments of "the law," we have probably the very earliest example of an attempt being made to draw out in detail a comparison between the two. Raban himself appears to have been conscious how few were in his time the points of resemblance. But the hint which he here throws out was soon improved upon by others, as we shall see in the passages which follow.

XXXII.

AMALARIUS METENSIS.¹⁷¹

OF THE VESTMENTS OF CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD.

[DE ECCL. OFF. LIB. II. CAP. 15-26.]

CAP. 15. OF CLERICAL VESTMENTS IN GENERAL.

PRIMO notandum est, ita esse clericorum habitum constitutum in ecclesiasticis officiis, ut in omnibus Christiano populo possit præbere exemplum bonæ conversationis. Quod quodammodo significat Hieronymus in libro¹⁷² de veste sacerdotali ad Fabiolam: *Legimus, inquit, in Levitico, juxta præceptum Dei Moïsen lavisse Aaron et filios ejus. Jam tunc purgationem mundi et rerum omnium sanctitatem baptismi sacramenta signabant. Non accipiunt vestes, nisi loti prius sordibus: nec coronantur ad sacra, nisi in Christo novi homines renascantur.* Ex his verbis intellegimus, vestes sacerdotales ad conversationem populi Christiani pertinere.

CAP. 16. SACRED VESTMENTS RESERVED FOR HOLY USE ALONE.

Stephanus¹⁷³ natione Romanus ex patre Iobio, ut legitur in gestis episcopalibus, constituit sacerdotibus Levitisque vestes sacratas in usu quotidiano non uti in ecclesia. Tale quid Dominus per Ezechielem loquitur: *Hæc sunt gazophylacia sancta, in quibus vestiuntur sacerdotes, qui appropinquant ante Dominum in sancta sanctorum.* Et paulo post: *Cum autem ingressi fuerint sacerdotes, non egredientur de sanctis in atrium exterius, et ibi reponent vestimenta sua, in quibus ministrant, quia sancta*

¹⁷¹ Amalarius is first heard of as a deacon at Metz, then (A.D. 825) as a bishop sent on a mission from the Council of Paris to the Emperor Lewis; and, lastly, as sent on a mission from the Emperor to Pope Gregory IV. This treatise dates from about the year 824 A.D. Some editors have attributed it to a contem-

porary archbishop, Amalarius Fortunatus, of Treves.

¹⁷² See above p. 10, fqq. The words quoted by Amalarius will be found at p. 20.

¹⁷³ Stephanus I. *sed.* 253-257 A.D. The reference to Ezechiel which follows is to cap. xlv. See above p. 29, fqq.

sunt, vestienturque vestimentis aliis, et sic procedent ad populum. Et iterum: Cumque ingrediuntur portas atrii interioris, vestibus lineis induentur, nec ascendat super eos quicquam laneum, quando ministrant in portis atrii interioris et intrinsecus. Et post pauca: Cumque egredientur atrium exterius ad populum, exuent se vestibus suis, in quibus ministraverant, et reponent ea in gazophylacia sanctuarii, et vestient se vestimentis aliis. Quamvis hæc spiritaliter intelligere debeamus, tamen admoniti fumus a supra memorato apostolico,¹⁷⁴ ut mutationem vestimenti juxta literam compleamus. Nobis enim qui spiritu fumus renati, ante oculos bonum est frequentare quod in mentem transeat. Per lineam vestem, qua tantummodo utimur in sanctis, intelligimus subtilem orationem, exutam ab omni carnali cogitatione ante Dominum. Locutio vero ad populum alia debet esse, tamque grossa, ut intelligi valeat a populo. Unde et Hieronymus in libro¹⁷⁵ decimotertio super Ezechielem: *Et quia semel præceperat quibus vestibus uti deberent sacerdotes quando intrinsecus in ministeriis sunt, rursus jubet ut egredientes, in gazophylaciis sive in exedris sanctorum se exuant pristinis vestibus, et induantur aliis, ne si sanctas vestes habuerint, sanctificent populum foris positum, qui necdum fuerit sanctificatus, nec se præparaverit in sanctificatione templi, ut sit Domini Nazaræus. Per quæ discimus, non quotidianis et quibuscumque pro usu vitæ communis pollutis vestibus nos ingredi debere in sancta sanctorum: sed munda conscientia et mundis vestibus tenere Domini sacramenta. Porro religio divina¹⁷⁶ alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitæque communi. Namque et hic ex verbis Hieronymi admoniti fumus mutationem vestimenti. Sequitur ejusdem in eodem: Hæc vestimenta proprio nobis labore conficimus, quæ texta sunt desuper, qualem et Dominus habebat tunicam, quæ scindi non potest: quibus induimur, quando secreta Domini et arcana cognoscimus, et habemus spiritum qui scrutatur etiam alta et profunda Dei, quæ non sunt monstranda vulgo, nec proferenda ad populum, qui non est sanctificatus, nec Dei sanctitudini præparatus: ne si majora se audierint, majestatem scientiæ ferre non possint: et quasi solido suffocentur cibo, qui adhuc lacte infantiæ nutriendi sunt.*¹⁷⁷ Inter regulas sacrae scripturæ septem hæc una ex illis constat, ut a litera transeamus ad spiritum, et a spiritu ad literam: Ac ideo non abhorret a vero, quamvis de laneo vestimento accipiamus secundum spiritum, si secundum literam perfecimus mu-

¹⁷⁴ *Apostolico*, i.e. by Stephanus, Bishop of the "Apostolic See."

¹⁷⁵ See above p. 30.

¹⁷⁶ See note 53, p. 31.

¹⁷⁷ For the mystical reference attributed to woollen garments see note 30, p. 20.

tationem vestimenti, quod et secundum literam et secundum spiritum rite possumus intelligere.

CAP. 17. OF THE AMICE.

Amictus¹⁷⁸ est primum vestimentum nostrum, quo collum undique cingimus. In collo est namque vox, ideoque per collum loquendi usus exprimitur. Per amictum intelligimus¹⁷⁹ custodiam vocis, de qua Psalmista dicebat: *Dixi, custodiam vias meas, ut non delinquam in lingua mea: posui ori meo custodiam.* Et in alio Psalmo: *Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo.* Amictus ideo dicitur, quia circumjicitur. In isto primo vestimento admonetur castigatio vocis.¹⁷⁹

CAP. 18. OF THE ALB.

Postea camisiam induimus, quam Albam vocamus, de qua Hieronymus in epistola memorata de veste sacerdotali ad Fabiolam: *Secunda ex lino tunica, est poderis, id est, talaris, et in sequentibus, Hæc adhæret corpori, et ita arcta est et strictis manicis, ut nulla omnino in veste sit ruga, et usque ad crura descendat. Volo pro legentis facilitate, abuti sermone vulgato: Solent militantes habere lineas, quas camisas vocant sic aptas membris et adstrictas corporibus, ut expediti sint vel ad cursum, vel ad prælia, dirigendo jaculo, tenendo clypeo, ense librando, et quocunque necessitas traxerit. Ergo et sacerdotes parati in ministerio Dei utantur hac tunica, ut habentes pulchritudinem vestimentorum nudorum celeritate discurrant.* In eo distat vestimentum illud a nostro, quod illud strictum est, nostrum vero largum. Etenim hi, qui, in veteri testamento spiritu servitutis erant adstricti, de quo dicebat Paulus:

¹⁷⁸ The amice was in shape (when opened out square) and in primitive use, nearly the counterpart of our modern "white neckcloth." But instead of being folded several times upon itself, it seems to have been either kept open or doubled but once. Hence it covered both neck and shoulders, and served to keep the outer garment from actual contact with the skin. This mode of wearing it is still preserved in Roman use. See Rock's *Hierurgia*, vol. ii. p. 612, with the plate ad-

joining. But the thought of making this neckcloth a *helmet* also [by holding it for a few moments upon the head, see Rock, *loc. cit.*] was an invention to which Amalarius and his contemporaries were not prepared. We shall find this, however, in a later author quoted in this work. See the Index in *voc.* Amictus.

¹⁷⁹ *Castigatio vocis.* See above note 163, p. 90.

*Non enim accepistis spiritum servitutis in timore. Nos vero quia Filius liberavit, liberi sumus; non accepimus spiritum servitutis in timore, sed spiritum adoptionis filiorum. Ac ideo sic illorum strictum,¹⁸⁰ nostrum largum, propter libertatem qua Christus nos liberavit. Quia primum vestimentum diximus esse castigationem vocis, videamus si secundum habeat¹⁸¹ aliquam castigationem corporis. Dicit Beda¹⁸² in libro de Tabernaculo; *Hæc etenim linea, manus ac brachia debet stringere sacerdotis, ne quid nisi utile faciant: pectus, ne quid inane cogitet: ventrem, ne delicias ultra modum appetendo, deum se gulosis facere præsumat: subiecta ventri membra, ne lasciviendo totam sacerdotalis habitus pulchritudinem corrumpant: genua, ne ab orationis instantia torpeant: tibias et pedes, ne ad malum currant. Induatur ergo sacerdos primo linea stricta, ut et corpus ab iniquis operibus, et a pravis cogitationibus mentem compeſcat. Quod ibi significat strictura vestimenti, hoc apud nos lini¹⁸³ castigatio. Quia usque ad pedes Beda provenit differendo de lineis vestibus, congruum est, ut nosmetipsos absolvamus de sandaliis, sive ut alio nomine campobis,¹⁸⁴ qui supersunt in pedibus. Sandalia subtus cooperiunt pedem, desuper nudum relinquunt, de quibus dicit idem, qui supra, in tractatu super Marcum: *Marcus dicendo calceari eos sandaliis, vel soleis, aliquid hoc calceamentum mysticæ significationis habere admonet, ut pes neque tectus sit, neque nudus ad terram, id est, nec occultetur evangelium, nec terrenis commodis innitatur. Sicut per linum, quo pedes vestiuntur, castigatio pedum significatur, ita per sandalia perfectus ad prædicandum.***

CAP. 19. OF THE CHASUBLE.

Casulam, quæ est generale indumentum sacrorum ducum,¹⁸⁵ ante cæteras vestes quæ sequuntur, præponimus. In illis quæ supra præ-

¹⁸⁰ For the reason why the Levitical vestments were thus "closely fitted" to the body, see note 6, p. 2.

¹⁸¹ *Videamus si habeat.* To this the same remark will apply that was made above, note 169, p. 93.

¹⁸² The quotation is from the *De Tabernaculo*, lib. iii. cap. 8. See note above, p. 78, 79.

¹⁸³ *Lini castigatio.* See note 106, p. 60.

¹⁸⁴ *Campobis.* The true reading is probably

campagis. The *Campaga* was a kind of shoe worn at one time by Roman Senators only (Albertus Rubenius *De Re Vesti.* lib. ii. cap. 5), and subsequently reserved as a special privilege to the Roman clergy (Divi Gregor. Epist. lib. vii. epist. 28).

¹⁸⁵ The term *sacri duces* seems to be here used nearly as οἱ ἡγούμενοι in H.S. as a general term for the two higher orders of the ministry.

tulimus, castigatio corporis a vitiis designatur, excepto in sandaliis. In sequentibus vero opera justitiæ demonstrabuntur. Dicit Beda in libro memorato de Tabernaculo: *Vestes sanctæ Aaron, quas illi fecit Moyses, opera sunt justitiæ et sanctitatis.* Cafula vero, quæ pertinet generaliter ad omnes clericos, debet significare opera quæ pertineant ad omnes: hæc enim sunt fames, sitis, vigiliæ, nuditas, lectio, psalmodia, oratio, labor operandi, doctrina, silentium, et cætera hujusmodi. In istis enim nullus sacrorum Dux negligens debet esse. Quando istis operibus vestitur, cafula indutus est. Hæc in aperto sunt, et tam ad minores gradus pertinent, quam ad supremos. Cafula dupla est post tergum inter humeros, et ante pectus. Per humeros opera exprimuntur. In eis duplex fit vestimentum, quia sic debemus bona opera foris proximis ostendere, ut eadem intus coram Domino integra servemus. In pectore duplex, quia in eo utrunque debet esse, et doctrina et veritas: veritas interius, doctrina ad homines. Hæc duo duplicia sint conjuncta, quia tunc bene ministratur, cum opus et ratio in unum conveniunt. Opus ad humeros, ratio ad pectus.¹⁸⁶

CAP. 20. OF THE STOLE.

Stolam¹⁸⁷ accipit diaconus, quando ordinatur ab episcopo. Ipsa enim semper utitur in opere ministerii. Per stolam designatur onus leve ac suave, de quo Dominus dicit: *Tollite jugum meum super vos, jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve.* Per jugum evangelium intelligimus, de quo dicit Hieronymus in commentariis Matthæi: *Quomodo levius lege evangelium, cum in lege homicidium, in evangelio ira damnetur?* Et paulo post: *In lege multa præcepta sunt, quæ Apostolus non posse compleri plenissime docet. In lege opera requiruntur, quæ qui fecerit, vivet in eis: In evangelio voluntas requiritur, quæ si etiam effectum non habuerit, tamen præmium non amittet.* In eo quod stola ad genua tendit, quæ solent curvari causa humilitatis, hoc intelligimus, quod Dominus dicit: *Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde.* Sciat se diaconus in stola superposita collo, ministrum evangelii esse, non præpositum. Evangelium CHRISTUS est.

¹⁸⁶ *Opus ad humeros*, note 35, p. 22; *ratio ad pectus*, note 38, p. 22.

¹⁸⁷ The word *stola* here appears to the exclusion of the older word *orarium*. The vest-

ment here meant closely resembled in shape the stole still worn in the Western Church. See the Plates dating from the 9th century among the Illustrations of this volume.

CAP. 21. OF THE DALMATIC.

Dalmatica a Silvestro Papa instituta est. Per Dalmaticam intelligimus religionem sanctam immaculatam, quæ est apud Deum et Patrem, ut visitentur pupilli et viduæ in tribulationibus eorum, et visitatores immaculatos se custodiant ab hoc seculo. Ipsa Dalmatica duas coccineas lineas habet retro, similiterque in anteriori parte: quia vetus testamentum et novum rutilant dilectione¹⁸⁸ Dei et proximi. Immaculatum esse, ad Deum pertinet: visitare fratres, ad proximum. Per colorem coccineum opera misericordiæ, quæ ex charitate fiunt in pupillis et viduis, intelligimus: per candorem, visitorum munditia designatur. Ipsa est enim vestis, de qua dicitur in psalmo quadragesimo quarto: *Adstitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate*. Unde Augustinus in eodem psalmo: *In veste ista varietas sit, scissura non sit*. *Ecce varietatem intelleximus de diversitate linguarum, et vestem intelleximus propter unitatem*. Et in sequentibus, *Circumamicta varietate*. *Pulchritudo intrinsecus*. *In fimbriis autem aureis, varietas linguarum, doctrinæ decus*. Fimbriæ, quæ procedunt de Dalmatica, verba sunt ejus prædicatoris, cujus religio sancta et immaculata est. Sicut verba ab aura aeris raptantur, ita fimbriæ spiramine venti. Profert Paulus candidas fimbrias circa manus ad utilitatem gentium, quando dicit, *Magis autem laboret operando manibus suis quod bonum est, ut habeat unde tribuat necessitatem patienti*. Quod Paulus prædicavit, opere complevit, dicens ad Corinthios de se: *In tribulationibus, in laboribus*. Quod ita Ambrosius in eadem epistola: *Laborare non destitit manibus suis, ne cui gravis esset*. Fert fimbrias candidas in latere, quando dicit: *Castigo corpus meum, et in servitutem redigo*; et in alio loco: *In castitate, hoc est, castitate corporis, et in vigiliis*. Qui hanc custodit, immaculatum se custodit ab hoc seculo. Fert coccineas circa humeros et pectora, quando dicit: *In charitate non ficta*. Ficta charitas est, quæ dimittit viduas et pupillos in tribulatione, et subvenit in prosperitate. Quæ fimbriæ ante sunt et retro, quia mandatum dilectionis et in veteri testamento, et in novo, manet. Unde Johannes: *Charissimi, non mandatum novum scribo vobis, sed mandatum vetus, quod habuistis ab initio*. *Mandatum vetus, est verbum quod audistis*. *Iterum mandatum novum scribo vobis*. Quod ita Beda: *Eadem charitas*

¹⁸⁸ *Rutilant dilectione*. On the association of red colour with the idea of charity, see above, p. 60, where St. Gregory says that the

bis tintus coccus of the Levitical high-priest is typical of charity (note 107 in fin.).

et mandatum vetus est, quod ab initio commendata: et mandatum novum, quia tenebris ejcctis desiderium novæ lucis infundit. Aliquæ Dalmaticæ habent viginti octo fimbrias ante et retro. Ubi est octies repetitus septiformis spiritus propter genera hominum quos replet, ut laudent Deum, hoc est, reges terræ, et omnes populi, principes et judices, juvenes et virgines, senes et juniores: et aliquæ triginta et triginta, singulæ lineæ altrinfecus quindecim; quia charitas et in veteri testamento et in novo quindecim ramos ex se producit. Quisquis studet prodesse fratribus in adversitate et in prosperitate, iste habet fimbrias coccineas in utroque humero. Hæ duæ fortunæ signantur per sinistrum et dextrum humerum. Quindecim ramos charitatis enumerat: *Patiens est, benigna est: non æmulatur, non agit perperam, non inflatur, non est ambitiosa, non quærit quæ sua sunt, non irritatur, non cogitat malum, non gaudet super iniquitate, congaudet autem veritati. Omnia suffert, omnia credit, omnia sperat, omnia sustinet.* Linea quæ in medio est, est quasi stipes charitatis. Quod enim significant lineæ sive fimbriæ in dextro humero sive sinistro, hoc significant in anteriori parte hominis, quæ pertinet ad novum testamentum. Sinistrum latus habet fimbrias, quia actualis vita sollicita est, et turbatur erga plurima: at dextrum latus non habet, quia contemplativa vita quieta est. Per ipsam figuratur regina, quæ stat a dextris. Ipsa est una Columba; perfecta et proxima stat a dextris, et nihil in se sinistrum habet. Largitas brachiorum, largitatem et hilaritatem datoris demonstrat. Diaconus qui non est indutus Dalmatica, casula legit circumcinctus,¹⁸⁹ ut expedite possit ministrare: vel quia suum est ire ad comitatum propter instantes necessitates. Ipsa habet pertusas subtus alas, quoniam Christum vult imitari, qui lancea perfossus est in latere, et vult ut nos sequamur ejus vestigia, quod significat pertusus in latere.

CAP. 22. OF THE UPPER TUNIC WORN OVER THE ALB.

Sicut in camisia¹⁹⁰ designatur castigatio corporis, ita in tunica virtutes intimæ, quæ ad solos sublimes pertinent, de qua Hieronymus in epistola ad Fabiolam: *Hæc ipsa hyacinthina tunica, subucula nominatur, et proprie pontificis est, significatque rationem sublimium non patere*

¹⁸⁹ It is not easy to give a meaning to these words which will be in accordance with what we know from other sources, and from Amalarius himself, to have been the characteristic dress of the deacon. The meaning, probably,

is this, that a deacon, if not dressed in a Dalmatic, wears a Chasuble, but gathered into the waist by a girdle.

¹⁹⁰ For the word *camisia* see note 23, p. 13.

*omnibus sed majoribus atque perfectis.*¹⁹¹ Ipsa est interior, ipsaque designat virtutes animæ, quæ non multis cognitæ sunt, et quas semper debet habere perfectas. Unde Beda in tractatu super Lucam: *Quis etenim nesciat viscera misericordiæ, benignitatem, humilitatem, patientiam, modestiam, castitatem, fidem, spem et his similia, sine ulla temporum intercapidine a fidelibus esse servanda?* Ipsa non cingitur, sed camisia. Quæ ita est fabrefacta, ut non impediatur cursum nostrum ad ministrationem, quoniam memoratæ virtutes liberum nobis iter præbent ad contemplationem Dei. Camisia cingulo continentia constringitur, præcipiente Domino: *Sint lumbi vestri præcincti*, ut per duas virtutes, id est, obedientiam Domini, et naturalem disputationem,¹⁹² constringatur omnis voluptas. Hæc sunt vestimenta de quibus scribitur in parabolis Salomonis, *Fortitudo et decor indumentum ejus*. Et in superioribus, *Et cingulum tradidit Chananæo*. Si quis voluerit uti duabus tunicis, ostendet se esse diaconum et sacerdotem, sive¹⁹³ ut octo sint vestimenta secundum numerum vestimentorum summi pontificis Aaron, cujus vestimenta narrantur fuisse circa caput et corpus usque ad pedes. De vestimento pedum et manuum reticetur. Ad illius normam, ut dixi, habet summus pontifex noster¹⁹⁴ a capite usque ad pedes octo vestimenta. Primum est amictus, secundum camisia, tertium cingulum, quartum stola, quintum et sextum duæ tunicæ, septimum casula, octavum pallium. Porro vestimentum pedum potius pertinet ad nostros pontifices, quam ad Aaron. Dicitur nostris pontificibus: *Euntes, docete omnes gentes*: Aaron tantum in Judæa versabatur. Sudarium in manu, potius ad nostros quam ad Aaron: quoniam major munditia est in novo testamento, quam esset in veteri: et illa bona habemus, quæ illi habuerunt, et plura per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Sacerdos in suo officio non se exuit casula, quia præcipiente Domino per Moysen non debet exire de sanctis, sicut scriptum est: *Nec egredientur de sanctis*. Ubi intelligi datur, debere eum jugiter in continentia et abstinentia manere.

¹⁹¹ See the passage from S. Jerome at p. 20. The words are quoted *verbatim*, with the exception of the three or four which refer to the LXX usage of ὑποδύτης. The omission somewhat changes the sense of the original text.

¹⁹² *Naturalem disputationem*. He probably means "contending against natural inclination" (the lusts of the flesh.)

¹⁹³ *Sive ut octo . . . reticetur*. I must confess that I am unable to follow exactly the thought of the writer in this passage. Two thoughts, however, we may trace. First he

hints that the two tunics may in some cases be adopted in order to accommodate the number of the Christian vestments to those of the tabernacle. And again, that in order to preserve this correspondence we must say nothing of what was worn on the hands and the feet of Christian priests.

¹⁹⁴ By the words *summus pontifex noster* we are probably to understand the *pontifex summus* (or chief Pontiff) "*of us Christians*," in other words, an archbishop. Compare what he says below of *nostros pontifices*. [For the word *pontifex*, see note 45, p. 26.] See also note 167, p. 92.

CAP. 23. THE PALLIUM WORN BY ARCHBISHOPS.

Pallium archiepiscoporum super omnia indumenta est, ut lamina in fronte folius pontificis.¹⁹⁵ Illo discernitur archiepiscopus a cæteris episcopis. Pallium significat torquem, quem solebant legitime certantes accipere. Quo dono admonentur cæteri ad legitimum certamen. Quod habet duas lineas¹⁹⁶ a summo usque deorsum ante et retro. Significat enim summæ doctrinæ decorem per disciplinam mandatorum Domini acceptabilem. Circulus circa collum, disciplina est Domini circa sermonem prædicatoris; ut non sit alter sermo prædicationis, et aliud opus, dicente Paulo, *Nemini dantes ullam offensionem, ut non vituperetur ministerium nostrum*. Quod ita Ambrosius in tractatu epistolæ ad Corinthios: *Vituperatur enim ministerium ipsorum, si ea quæ verbis docebant, operibus suis, ut fèrent, exempla non darent*. Mandata Veteris Testamenti, a principio Geneseos usque finem, in humerali linea operando et docendo portet pontifex: in pectorali Novi, a primitiva ecclesia usque in finem. De torque dicebat Salomon in parabolis, *Ut addatur gratia capiti tuo, et torques collo tuo*. Quod ita Beda in eodem: *Mos apud veteres fuit, ut legitime certantes, coronam in capite, torquem in collo, acciperent*. Et nobis ergo si disciplinam Conditoris nostri, si gratiæ matris scita, custodimus, major inde virtutum spiritualium claritas augetur. Additur gratia capiti, cum charitas quæ principale mentis ornat, ardentius inflammatur. Additur et collo torques, cum fulgore perfectæ operationis sermo prædicationis, qui per collum procedit, confirmatur: ac ne contemni ab auditoribus debeat, inefficienti virtutum connexionem docetur. Sed et his qui Mosaicæ legis decreta Domino veniente servabant, addita est gratia novi testamenti cum spe regni cælestis, cujus splendor eximius ad exemplum coronæ vel torquis, nullo unquam sine claudetur.

¹⁹⁵ Pontifex is here the Jewish high-priest. Amalarius implies that as the high-priest was distinguished from other priests by the golden plate upon his brow, so are archbishops distinguished from other bishops by the wearing of the pallium.

¹⁹⁶ The two lines (behind and in front) here spoken of, and the torques, or collar, are evidently a description of such a later pallium (see note 110, p. 63) as may be seen figured in

the representation of Egbertus, Archbishop of Treves, and in the Mosaic pictures of the popes of the 12th century, given in this volume. He says the bishop is to bear upon the shoulder-line (see note 35) the precepts of the old covenant of works; on the pectoral-line (i.e. the part of the pallium which hangs down in front) those of the new covenant, "from the first beginnings of the Church unto the end."

CAP. 24. OF THE SUDARIUM OR MANIPLE.

Sudario solemus tergere pituitam oculorum et narium atque superfluum salivam decurrentem per labia. Ac ideo sudarium significat isto in loco studium mundandæ cogitationis, quo naturales et velut ingenitas nostras delectationes studemus tergere. Sive propter effusionem lachrymarum tergendam fertur sudarium, ut in martyrologio Bedæ legitur, quod pater noster Arsenius propter redundancy lachrymarum tergendam, sudarium semper in sinu vel in manu habuerit. In manu sinistra portatur, ut ostendatur in temporali vita tædium nos pati superflui humoris, hoc est, carnalis delectationis. Et iterum: Sudarium ad hoc portamus, ut eo detergamus sudorem qui fit ex labore proprii corporis, quod legimus usitatum fuisse circa corpus Christi. Unde legitur,¹⁹⁷ *Et sudarium quod fuit super caput ejus.* Sudor tædium nostro corpori est. Si non esset tædium, non toties tergeretur. Habet aliquoties mens tædium, dicente psalmista: *Dormitavit anima mea præ tædio.* Tædium in anima, quasi sudor in corpore. Tædium animi aliquoties solet fieri ex conscientia peccatorum, aliquoties ex accidentibus, ut est omne flagellum quod patitur ab alieno corpore: aliquoties ex infirmitate proprii corporis, quæ infirmitas aliquoties solet accidere ex peccatis. Quando tædium ex infirmitate peccatorum frontem conscientia nostræ tegit, habeamus sudarium ex lino castigatum et mundum, qualia sunt verba David prophetæ: *Cor mundum crea in me Deus, & spiritum rectum innova in visceribus mei.* Et si fuerit infirmitas ex approbatione,¹⁹⁸ sicut in Iob, dicamus quod dixit: *Sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum.* Munda cogitatio in David fuit, quando dixit, *Cor mundum crea in me Deus:* mundaque in Iob, quando dixit, *Sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est.* Sic et nos, quando tædio aliquo afficimur, ne majore tristitia absorbeamur, in consolationem nostræ quasi quoddam sudarium exempla prædicta sanctorum patrum ad corroborandam patientiam, ad detergendum tædium fumamus. Per sudarium intelligimus mundos affectus et pios in labore.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ *Sudarium, &c.* He alludes (but with a strange misapplication of the original passage) to John, xx. 7, where there is mention of "the napkin" (Gr. *συνδύχην*) that was laid

upon the face of our Lord after His death.

¹⁹⁸ *Ex approbatione: i.e.* sent as a trial of our faith.

¹⁹⁹ *In labore.* In time of trouble or of toil.

CAP. 25. OF THE SANDALS WORN BY BISHOPS, PRIESTS, ETC.

Varietas fandaliorum, varietatem ministrorum pingit. Episcopi et sacerdotis pene unum est officium; at quia nomine et honore discernuntur, discernuntur etiam varietate fandaliorum, ut visibus nostris error auferatur, qui potest interesse propter similitudinem officii. Episcopus habet ligaturam in suis sandaliis, quam non habet presbyter. Episcopi est huc illucque discurrere per parochiam²⁰⁰ ad regendam plebem: ne forte cadant sandalia de pedibus, ligata sunt. Ex eo potest sciri, quantum necesse sit ei firmare gressus mentis, qui in turbis populorum versatur. Presbyter qui domi²⁰¹ hostias immolat, securius incedit. Diaconus quia dissimilis est episcopo ab officio, non est necesse ut habeat dissimilia sandalia; et ipse ligaturam habet, quia suum est ire ad comitatum. Subdiaconus quia in adiutorio est diacono et pene in eodem officio, necesse est ut habeat dissimilia sandalia, ne forte æstimetur diaconus. Mystice, quia sandalia prædicatoris cursum signant, solea, quæ subtus est, admonet prædicatorem, ut non se implicet terrenis negociis. Lingua de albo corio, quæ subtus calcaneum²⁰² est, monstrat, debere esse eandem separationem innocentem et sine dolo, ut possit de eo dici, *Ecce vere Israelita, in quo dolus non est*. Non sit talis, quales pseudo-apostoli errant, qui prædicabant per invidiam et contentionem. Lingua quæ inde surgit, et est separata à corio sandaliorum, linguam eorum monstrat, qui prædicatori bonum testimonium debent proferre, de quibus dicebat Paulus: *Oportet et cum testimonium bonum habere ab his qui foris sunt*. Hi sunt in inferiore parte, et sunt quodammodo separati à conversatione spiritualium. Lingua superior, spiritualium lingua est, qui prædicatorem introducunt in opus prædicationis. Hæc requiruntur in posteriore vita prædicatoris. At intrinsecus de albo corio circumdata sunt sandalia: Ita oportet esse prædicatoris intentionem candidam coram Deo ex pura conscientia: extrinsecus vero nigrum ap-

²⁰⁰ *Parochiam*, i.e. his diocese. Such was the primitive meaning of the word *παροικία* in ecclesiastical Greek (see Bingham, vol. iii. p. 37), and thence of *parochia* in Latin. The word was used, according to its proper meaning, to signify the "neighbourhood," i.e. the neighbouring district which had its centre in any particular town,—such town forming the capital, so to speak, both for civil and for ecclesiastical purposes. Our own "counties," each with its "county town," would perhaps be the nearest approach to such a *παροικία*,

though as a rule our counties are very much larger than the ancient ecclesiastical *παροικία*.

²⁰¹ *Domi*. Not "at home" in the sense of in his "own house," but *domi* "staying at home," i.e. staying in the town wherein he dwelt, and in whose Church *hostias* immolated, to adopt the language of Amalarius.

²⁰² *Calcaneum*, probably the "tread" of the foot, to use a shoemaker's phrase. It is a word of the *lingua vulgaris*, and survives, as most of such words do, in the present language of Italy. [*Calcagno*, the heel.]

paret, quoniam videtur prædicatorum vita despecta à secularibus propter multitudinem pressurarum præsentis mundi. Superior pars sandaliorum per quam pes intrat, multis filis confuta est, ut non dissolvantur duo coria. In initio enim debet studere prædicator pluribus virtutibus atque sententiis scripturarum, ut opera forinseca cum his quæ intrinsecus nitent coram Deo, non disjungantur. Lingua sandaliorum quæ super pedem est, linguam prædicatoris potest figurare. Linea opere futuri facta, præcedens à lingua sandalii usque ad finem ejus, evangelicam perfectionem: lineæ præcedentes ex utraque parte, legem et prophetias, quæ in evangelio recapitulantur. Etenim ipsæ recapitulatæ sunt ad medianam lineam, quæ usque ad finem currit. Ligatura mysterium incarnationis Christi: quæ incarnatio in aliquibus aperta est humanis sensibus humano more, sicuti est poni in præsepio, pannis involvi, et cætera. Et aliter: Dicit Dominus in evangelio: *Quodcumque supererogaveris, ego cum rediero, reddam tibi*. Disponit Dominus his qui evangelium prædicarent, de evangelio vivere: supererogavit Paulus, quia sine sumptu exposuit evangelium, operabatur manibus suis victus sibi necessaria. Opus Pauli quod supererogavit evangelio, possumus intelligere corrigias supererogatas sandaliis, quæ manibus huc illucque ducuntur ut ligentur. Firmo gressu it prædicator, qui nulli onerosus est.

Breviter desideramus recapitulare omnem ornatum clericorum. Caput clerici mens est. In superiore parte disco opertum, ubi est imago Dei, in inferiore parte circumdatum capillis, quasi aliquibus cogitationibus de præsentī necessitate. Amictus est castigatio vocis, Alba cæterorum inferiorum sensuum, præsidente magistra ratione, interius per disciplinam continentiae constringente, quasi quodam cingulo, voluptatem carnis. Calceamenti linea, prohibitio pedum ad malum festinando. Sandalia ornatus, iter prædicatoris, quia cælestia non debet abscondere, neque terrenis inhiare. Secunda tunica, opera mentis sunt: casula, opera corporis pia. Stola, jugum Christi, quod est evangelium. Dalmatica diaconi et sui ministri, quæ est itineri²⁰³ habilis, cura proximorum est. Sudarium, piæ et mundæ cogitationes, quibus detergimus molestias animi ex infirmitate corporis. Pallium archiepiscoporum, torques devotissimæ prædicationis et in veteri testamento, et in novo.

²⁰³ *Dalmatica . . . quæ est itineri habilis.* By a dalmatic "suitable for travel," he means a short dalmatic, not reaching lower than the knee. This shortened dalmatic, assigned to deacon and subdeacon (*sui ministri*) is sug-

gestive, he says, of the activity which they should display in work of charitable relief (*cura proximorum*). This will be explained by what has been said in the Introduction, of the various forms of the tunic anciently in use.

XXXIII.

WALAFRIDUS STRABO.²⁰⁴

CAP. 24. DE VASIS ET VESTIBUS SACRIS.

DE REBUS ECCLESIASTICIS.

VASA quoque, quibus præcipue nostra Sacramenta imponuntur et consecrantur. Calices sunt et Patenæ. Calix dicitur à Græco nomine *κάλυξ*.²⁰⁵ Patena à patendo, quod patula fit. Ampulla, quasi parum²⁰⁶ ampla. Zepherinus²⁰⁷ Ro. Pontifex XVI patenis vitreis Missas celebrare constituit. Tum deinde Urbanus²⁰⁸ XVIII Papa, omnia ministeria sacrata fecit argentea, et patenas 25. In hoc sicut et in reliquis cultibus, magis et magis per incrementa temporum decus succrevit Ecclesiæ. Bonifacius²⁰⁹ martyr et Episcopus interrogatus, Si liceret in vasis ligneis sacramenta conficere, respondit: *Quondam sacerdotes aurei ligneis calicibus utebantur: nunc e contra, lignei sacerdotes aureis utuntur calicibus*. Sylvester²¹⁰ Papa constituit, Sacrificium altaris non in ferico, non in panno tincto celebrari, nisi tantum linceo e terra²¹¹ procreato: sicut corpus Domini Jesu Christi in sindone munda sepultum est. Vestes etiam sacerdotales per incrementa ad eum, qui nunc habetur, auctæ sunt ornatum. Nam primis temporibus communi indumento vestiti, Missas agebant, sicut et hæcenus quidam Orienta-

²⁰⁴ Walafrid was of German birth, and a pupil of Rabanus Maurus (see note 155) at Fulda. At a later period he became Dean of St. Gall, and in 842 A.D. was made Abbot of Rosenau (*Augiæ Majoris*) in the diocese of Constance. The text is that of Hittorpius.

²⁰⁵ Misprinted in Hittorpius *κάλυξ*.

²⁰⁶ His etymology is at fault here. The word is probably *amb-olla* or *ambi-olla*. The old Latin *ampulla* was a jar, or bottle, which from its full swelling shape came to be used metaphorically of anything that was over

big or its place [*Projicit ampullas et sef-quipedalia verba*: HOR.]. This later use is illustrated by the verb *ampullari*, to be pompous or bombastic, and the *fr. ampollositâ*, "bombast." Compare the *Fr. Ampoulé*, bombastic. The *It. Ampolleta*, *Fr. Ampoulette*, an "hour-glass," have preserved the original signification of the word.

²⁰⁷ Zephyrinus *sed.* 202-218.

²⁰⁸ Urbanus *sed.* 223-230.

²⁰⁹ Our countryman Winifrid was born at *Cridiodunum* (Crediton) in Devon, A.D. 670.

XXXIII.

WALAFRID STRABO.⁵⁰⁴

CAP. 24. OF HOLY VESSELS AND VESTMENTS.

DE REBUS ECCLESIASTICIS.

THE vessels on which for the most part our holy oblations (*sacramenta*) are placed and consecrated are Chalices and Patens. The Chalice is so called from the Greek word *κάλυξ*.²⁰⁵ The Paten, from *patere*, in reference to its open flat surface. The *Ampulla*, or Flagon, as though from *parum ampla*,²⁰⁶ in respect of its small size. Zepherinus,²⁰⁷ sixteenth Bishop of Rome, ordered the celebration of masses on patens, made of glass. Then again, Urbanus,²⁰⁸ eighteenth Pope, made of silver all the vessels to be used in holy ministry, and amongst these twenty-five patens. In this, as in other matters of outward observance, the beauty of the church's ornaments increased with the increase of years. Boniface,²⁰⁹ martyr and bishop, was once asked whether it were lawful to consecrate the holy elements in vessels of wood. To this he replied, "*Golden priests, and wooden chalices, such was once the rule. Now it is the priests that are wooden, while the chalices that they use are of gold.*" Pope Sylvester²¹⁰ ordained that the sacrifice of the altar should be celebrated not in silk nor in dresses of dyed cloth, but only in linen, which is produced from out the earth;²¹¹ even as the body of our Lord

When consecrated *episcopus Germanorum* by Gregory II. in 723, he assumed the name of Bonifacius, by which he has since been known. A letter of his to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury (Spelman, Concil. p. 241), breathes a similar spirit of severe condemnation against the increasing luxury in dress and ornament of the churchmen of his time. "*Super vacuum et Deo odibilem vestimentorum superstitionem omni intentione prohibere stude, quia illa ornamenta vestitum, ut illis videtur, quod ab aliis turpitudine dicitur, latissimis clavus et vermium imaginibus clavata, adventum Antichristi, ab illo transf-*

missa, præcurrunt. Illius calliditate per ministros suos introducere intra claustra monasteriorum fornicationem et luxuriam claustrorum juvenum, et sæda consortia, et tedium lectionis et orationis, et perditionem animarum. Hæc indumenta nuditatem animæ significantia, signa in se ostendunt arrogantiae et superbiae et luxuriæ et vanitatis; de quibus Sapientia dicit: Arrogantiam, et superbiam, et viam pravam, et bilinguam detestor."

²¹⁰ Sylvester *sed.* 314-335.

²¹¹ He implies a contrast with the animal origin of woollen garments. See note 30.

lium facere perhibentur. Stephanus²¹² autem xxiv constituit, sacerdotes et Levitas vestibus sacratiss in usu quotidiano non uti, nisi in Ecclesia tantum.²¹³ Et Sylvester ordinavit, ut Diaconi dalmaticis in Ecclesia uterentur, et pallio linostimo eorum læva tegeretur.²¹⁴ Et primo quidem sacerdotes Dalmaticis ante Casularum usum induebantur: postea vero cum Casulis uti cœpissent, Dalmaticas Diaconibus concesserunt. Ipsos tamen Pontifices eis uti debere, ex eo clarum est, quod Gregorius vel alii Romanorum præfules, aliis Episcopis earum usum permiserunt, aliis interdixerunt. Ubi intelligitur non omnibus tunc fuisse concessum, quod nunc pene omnes Episcopi, et nonnulli presbyterorum, sibi licere existimant, id est, ut sub Casula Dalmatica vestiantur.

Statutum est autem Concilio Bracarenfi,²¹⁵ *Ne sacerdos sine orario celebrat Missam*. Addiderunt in vestibus sacris alii alia: vel ad imitationem eorum quibus veteres utebantur sacerdotes, vel ad mysticæ significationis expressionem. Quid enim singula designent, quibus utimur nunc, à prioribus nostris satis expositum est. Numero autem suo antiquis respondent: quia sicut ibi tunica superhumeralis, linea,²¹⁶ superhumale, rationale, balteus, feminalia, tiara et lamina, sic hic dalmatica, alba, mappula, orarium, cingulum, sandalia, casula et pallium. Unde sicut illorum extremo soli Pontifices, sic horum ultimo summi tantum pastores utuntur.²¹⁷

²¹² Stephanus *fed.* 253-257.

²¹³ Dr. Hefele remarks with truth that such a prohibition implies that the vestments of Christian ministry were then such as *could* have been worn for other than ecclesiastical use.—*Liturgische Gewänder*, p. 153.

²¹⁴ *Ut eorum læva pallio linostimo tegeretur*. Compare note 157, p. 88. The interpretation there given (as again here) to the somewhat obscure interpretation of the text is suggested by the many ancient monuments, in which the left hand of bishops, priests, or deacons is seen, covered either with the *orarium* or some other piece of cloth, when holding sacred vessels or sacred books. We may not improbably conjecture that this direction to the Roman deacons had reference, in the first instance, to the care that was necessary in the use of those silver vessels (replacing the earlier glass vessels), introduced according to Roman tradition by Urbanus, rather earlier in the third century. Hence probably the origin of that *mappula* (the later maniple), the use of which was claimed (*supra*, pp. 65, 66) in St.

Gregory's time as an exclusively Roman privilege by the Roman clergy, and only after long debate allowed, under guarded restrictions, to the principal deacons of the Church of Ravenna. [As to the *privilege* of wearing a Dalmatic noticed by Walafrid, see above p. 67.]

²¹⁵ The second Council of Bracara held A.D. 572.

²¹⁶ In Hittorpius punctuated thus, "*Tunica, superhumeralis linea, superhumale*," &c. So written it is unintelligible.

²¹⁷ Note here that with Walafrid the "*Amice*" is not reckoned among the vestments at all, and he has to make up the number required by adding the *sandals*, which in point of fact constitute a remarkable contrast to the *bare-footed* ministrations of the law.

Note also that it is clear that no episcopal mitre (in the modern sense of the word) could have been in use in Walafrid's time, as it is impossible to conceive, were it otherwise, that he should have failed to notice the coincidence.

Jesus Christ was buried in clean linen. And only by successive additions did the priestly garb attain to that degree of ornament which is now observed. For in the earliest times mass was performed by men wearing the dress of ordinary life, as is said to be done even to this day by some in the Eastern Churches. But Stephanus,²¹² twenty-fourth Pope, directed that priests and Levites should not employ their sacred dress for ordinary daily use, but reserve them exclusively for the Church.²¹³ By order of Silvester, deacons were to use dalmatics in the church, and their left hand was to be covered with a *pallium* (cloth) of linen web.²¹⁴ And in the first instance, before chasubles came into use, those of the priestly order wore dalmatics. But afterwards, when they began to wear chasubles, they left the use of the dalmatic to deacons. Yet that even pontiffs themselves ought to wear it, is clear from this, that Gregory and other Roman primates (*præfules*) allowed the use of the Dalmatic to some bishops, forbade it in the case of others. And by this it is evident that in those days that was not matter of general privilege (the wearing I mean of a Dalmatic under the Chasuble) which now almost all bishops and priests think is permitted them. Then at the Council of Bracara²¹⁵ it was prescribed that no priest should celebrate mass without an Orarium (or "stole"). Successive additions were made in this matter of vestments from time to time, partly by way of imitating what was worn by the priests of the old Covenant, partly for the expression of a mystical meaning. What is signified by each of the vestments worn in our own day, those who have preceded me have sufficiently shown. But in respect of their number they correspond with the vestments of the old law. For whereas then there were the tunic of the ephod, the tunic of linen,²¹⁶ superhumeral (or ephod), breastplate, girdle, drawers, tiara, and frontlet, so have we now dalmatic, alb, maniple, stole, girdle, sandals, chasuble, and pallium. And as the last named of those older vestments was worn only by high-priests, so is the last of these Christian vestments worn only by chief pastors.²¹⁷

XXXIV.

ALBINUS FLACCUS ALCUINUS.²¹⁸THE PRIESTLY VESTMENTS OF THE LAW AND OF
THE GOSPEL.

LIBER DE DIVINIS OFFICIIS.

Nunc dicendum de singulis vestibus, quibus sacerdotes vel reliqui ordines in veteri testamento utebantur. Erant autem octo species vestium sacerdotium, id est, tunica linea stricta, tunica hyacinthina, superhumera, rationale, cidaris, balteum, lamina aurea in fronte pontificis, et feminalia linea. His omnibus pontifex tempore sacrificii induebatur: cæteris vero, minoris gradus sacerdotibus, solis quatuor licebat uti, id est, tunica linea stricta, cidari, balteo, et feminalibus. Reliqua vero quatuor tantum summi pontificis erant.

Nunc de singulis explanemus. Tunica linea, vestis erat interior, quam camisiam dicimus vel supparum. Hæc stricta dicitur, quoniam adhærebat corpori, et ita erat strictis manicis,²¹⁹ ut nulla ei omnino ruga inesset. Sicut solent milites habere tunicas lineas sic aptas membris, ut expediti sint dirigendo jaculo, tendendo clypeum, librando gladium, qualem et Joab habuisse legitur strictam ad mensuram habitus corporis sui: pro qua nunc sacerdotes vel clerici albas habent. Tunica tota hyacinthina exterior, nullumque alium colorem recipiens, usque ad pedes descendens, sicut et linea, unde et utraque græce podêris, id est, talaris vocabatur, habens similitudinem malorum granatorum aure-

²¹⁸ This treatise was by the earlier editors assigned, without suspicion, to Alcuin, our countryman, pupil of Bede, who died A.D. 804. But there is a general agreement now in assigning it to a much later date. Thus Cave (Hist. Lit. tom. i. p. 638): *Alcuini non esse* (De Divinis Officiis Liber) *et post annum 1000 scriptum esse, certo certius constat.* And Dr. Hefele, in referring to the work, writes to

the same effect: "*in dem Werke . . . das früher Alkuin zugeschrieben, aber neuern Untersuchungen gemäß erst in 10ten oder 11ten Jahrhundert verfaßt wurde.*"—Liturg. Gewänd. p. 156. [The text is that of Hittorp, p. 74 sqq.]

²¹⁹ *Stricta . . . strictis manicis, &c.* See note 6, p. 2.

orum, et tintinnabula aurea. Erat autem sine manicis ad colobiorum ²²⁰ similitudinem, et ideo unde manus educerentur, aperta erat. Pro tunica hyacinthina nostri pontifices primo colobiis utebantur. Est autem colobium vestis sine manicis.

Hæ duæ vestes, id est, tunica byffina stric̃ta, et tunica hyacinthina, balteo adstrictæ erant, quod erat cinguli genus ex byffo retorta, hyacintho, purpura ac vermiculo,²²¹ opere plumari,²²² in similitudinem pellis colubri, latitudinis quatuor digitorum. Pro balteo nunc zonarum, quas Romanas appellant, usus receptus est. Superhumerales,²²³ quod Hebraice ephod dicitur, sic vocatum, quod humeros obnuberet: cujus contextus de omnibus coloribus erat, magnitudinis cubitalis, id est, usque ad cingulum pertingens, amplectens omnem locum pectoris, et ad manus ejiciendas hincinde apertum. Cui vestimento locus vacuus dimittebatur in medio pectore, magnitudine palmi, ubi inferebatur rationale, quod Hebraice dicitur effin, et Græce logion. Habebat autem superhumerales in utroque humero singulos lapides onychinos, et in singulis lapidibus erant sculpta singula duodecim patriarcharum nomina. Habent etiam nunc ministri ecclesiæ Christi superhumerales, quod amictum ²²⁴ vocamus, quando ad altare ministrant. Rationale ²²⁵ opere polymito factum erat, juxta texturam superhumeralis, id est, eisdem coloribus factum erat, quadrangulum, habens mensuram palmi in longitudinem et latitudinem. Erant in eo quatuor ordines lapidum, terni per singulos versus distributi: sculpti erant singulis duodecim patriarcharum nominibus. Erant autem catenulæ aureæ, et uncini aurei: necnon et aurei annuli, tam in quatuor summitatibus rationalis, quam et in summitatibus superhumeralis, quæ catenulæ inferebantur, jungebantque rationale et superhumerales superius, inferius vero vittis hyacinthinis sibi nec̃tebantur. Pro rationali nunc summi pontifices,²²⁶ quos archiepiscopos dicimus, pallio ²²⁷ utuntur, quod à sancta Romana fede,

²²⁰ Colobium, i.e. a tunic without sleeves.

²²¹ Vermiculus [whence the Fr. Vermeil, Eng. Vermilion] the equivalent of coccus, or scarlet.

²²² Opere plumari, i.e. embroidery.

²²³ Superhumerales . . . ephod. See above pp. 4, 14.

²²⁴ Amictum. See above, note 178, p. 96.

²²⁵ Rationale. See p. 22, note 36.

²²⁶ Summi pontifices. Note 45, p. 26. Alcuin himself gives a good and pious (but unhistorical) derivation of the word in this same treatise (p. 73), Pontifex, he says, quasi pontem faciens; eo quod pontem, id est, viam aliis præbere

debeat, verbo et exemplo, unde homines transeant ad vitam celestem. He probably was not at all aware of the classical usage of the word.

²²⁷ Pro rationali . . . pallio utuntur.

For the pallium here spoken of see note 196, p. 102. Anything less like the "rational" or breast-jewel of the Jewish high-priest, with its twelve precious stones, than the pallium of an archbishop, it would be difficult to conceive. But such comparisons were not too violent for writers of the tenth or eleventh century. And these, I regret to add, have not been without their followers in the nineteenth.

Apostolico²²⁸ dante, suscipiunt. Tiara²²⁸ erat vestis, pileolum videlicet rotundum, quasi sphaera media sic divisa, ut et pars una ponatur in capite, ita ut medii verticis medietatem non excedat, habens vittas, quæ convolutæ sæpius connectuntur, ne facile dilabantur. Et hoc quidem minorum erat sacerdotum: Summus autem Pontifex præter pileum habebat coronam auream, triplicemque, super quam à media fronte surgebat quasi calamus quidam aureus, similis herbæ, quæ hebraice acano, græce autem hios,²²⁹ quæ apud nos latine cidaris. Per circumulum vero habebat flores, similes flori plantaginis, ab occipitio usque ad utrunque tempus. In fronte vero erat locus patens, ubi inferebatur lamina aurea, quæ quatuor literis nomen Dei habebat scriptum.

Hujuscemodi vestis non habetur in Romana ecclesia, vel in nostris regionibus. Non enim moris est, ut pileati divina mysteria celebrent. Apud græcos autem hoc dicitur, qui pileos, id est, cuphias²³⁰ gestant in capite dum assistunt altaribus. Lamina aurea in fronte pontificis, in qua sanctum Domino sive sanctum Domini sculptum habebatur, ornamentum erat cæteris sacratius indumentis. Sanctum autem Domino, quod ibi sculptum erat nomen sanctum et venerabile Dei, quod per quatuor literas scribebatur, יהוה scilicet, iod, he, vau, heth; et dicebatur ineffabile, non quod dici non possit, sed quia nec definiri et comprehendi sensu ullius creaturæ, ut digne Deo aliquid dici possit. Ligabatur autem vitta hyacinthina super tiaram, ut totam pontificalis ornatus pulchritudinem Dei vocabulum coronaret ac protegeret. Neque hanc ornamentum speciem Christi accepit ab illis ecclesia. Octavum, id est, novissimum ornamentum feminalia linea, quibus operiebant carnem turpitudinis suæ, ab renibus usque ad femina sive (ut usitatus) femora, cum ad sacrificium accedebant. Hujusmodi habitus ita notus est in nostris regionibus, ut ex eo Gallia bractea cognominata sit.

Compræhensum breviter, quibus vestibus ornarentur sacerdotes et ministri templi Dei, Moisaicæ legis temporibus, quas ad instar illorum, revelata evangelii gratia, suscepit Ecclesia. Sunt tamen alia quæ apud illos non habebantur, ut stola,²³¹ sandalia, et sudarium,²³² quod ad tergen-

²²⁸ *Apostolico*, i.e. the "pope," Bishop of the Apostolic See. For the word *tiara*, which follows, see note 84, p. 52.

²²⁹ *Hios*. He refers to the word ἰώσκάμπος, or *Hioscyamus*. The Latin *cidaris* has nothing whatever to do with this plant, but, like the Greek *κίδαρις*, which it represents, is the proper designation of a royal (or of a high-priest's) tiara.

²³⁰ *Cuphias*. The Greek *κουφία* or *σκουφία*,

a skull-cap, a word noticed by Eustathius, on Iliad x, and of not unfrequent occurrence in Byzantine Greek. But it is nowhere used by any classical writer, as far as I am aware.

²³¹ *Stola*. Here used absolutely for the older word *orarium*. It is of the "stole" as we understand the word, that he is speaking. Compare note 187, p. 98.

²³² *Sudarium*. See above, p. 103, and note 197.

dum sudorem in manu gestari mos est, quod usitato nomine fanonem vocamus.²³³

Verum quia illo tempore figuris omnia et ænigmatibus obumbrabantur, convenit, ut quid illa vestimenta mystice significaverint, quoque nomine nunc specialiter in ecclesia venerantur, non verbatim, sed capitulatim ostendamus. Vestimenta illa, quæ in sanctis officiis portanda erant, typus erant sanctarum virtutum, unde et sancta dicebantur. Ad hæc facienda non tam diversa, quam speciosæ species sumebantur, aurum videlicet, quod est splendor sapientiæ divinæ, cui jungebatur hyacinthus,²³⁴ qui est color aerius, cæleste videlicet desiderium. Purpura apponebatur, quæ sanguinis imitatur colorem, ut per duo genera martyrii noverint se exercendos electi, id est, si necesse sit, non dubitent mori pro Christo, et pacis tempore in seipsis appetitus occidant, mortificantes membra sua cum vitiis et concupiscentiis. Coccus²³⁵ bis tinctus, Dei et proximi dilectionem indicat efficaciter tenendam. Byssus geminam castitatem, corporis scilicet et animæ, significat: unde de vere vidua dicit Apostolus, *Ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu*. His ornamentis debet Christi pontifex refulgere, his coloribus exornari. Tunica lineæ, et byssina stricta, mortificationem²³⁶ carnis pretendit. Byssum enim vel linum, multiplici elaboratum contusione, et naturæ subtilitate deductum ac textum, in vestem proficit. Sic nullus Christo ornari poterit, nisi castigatis et mortificatis omnibus carnis passionibus: unde et bene stricta dicitur. Strictum enim, castum dicimus: e contra lascivum, dissolutum vocamus. Tunica tota hyacinthina, quæ aërio refulgebat²³⁷ colore, cælestem designat conversationem: quæ tota erat hyacinthina, quia sacerdos nihil debet curare terrenum: nemo enim, ait Apostolus, militans Deo, implicat se negociis secularibus, ut ei placeat, cui se probavit. Balteus sive cingulum, quo tunica hæc cum interiore, id est, lineæ, cingebatur, continentiam insinuat, quæ mater est et custos pudiciæ, qua maxime ornari pontifices concedet: hanc, qui ingratus est Deo, perdit, sicut Job de talibus dicit: *Balteum regum dissolvit, et*

²³³ *Fanon*. This word is supposed to be connected with the German *fahne*, meaning a piece of cloth (of wool or of linen), and hence, according to the various uses to which such a piece of cloth may be applied, a banner or ensign; a clerical vestment; a "corporal."

²³⁴ *Hyacinthus* . . . color aerius. See note 32, p. 10.

²³⁵ *Coccus* . . . dilectionem indicat. See note 188.

²³⁶ Compare note 106, p. 60.

²³⁷ *Refulgebat* . . . erat . . . cingebatur . . . induebatur, &c. From the use of these tenses of past time it is clear that throughout this portion of the treatise the author is speaking of the spiritual significance of the Levitical vestments, not of those worn in Christian ministry. It is not till somewhat later (see below p. 115) that he goes on to speak of these last.

præcingit fune renes eorum. Regum enim, id est, sanctorum sacerdotum, balteum, hoc est, pudicam continentiam dissolvit, id est, dissolvi permittit, cum de suis virtutibus extolli cœperint: et præcingit fune asperæ pœnitentiæ renes eorum, ut incipiant suis casibus ingemiscere, qui aliorum lapsibus debuerant auxilio subvenire.

Superhumerales, quod Hebraice ephod dicitur, obedientiam mandatorum Dei significat, quo induebatur sacerdos, ut meminerit præcepta Dei strenue quasi onus humeris impositum debere portare. Quod vero nomina patriarcharum inter sacrificia et in humeris, sicut et in pectore, portabat, monetur per hoc sacerdos, ut priorum patrum fidem et exempla sequatur,²³⁸ ut fidelium, qui sunt filii apostolorum, in suis orationibus meminerit, et ut ipsis eadem exempla sequenda proponat.

Rationale, quod erat in fronte²³⁹ pontificis, designat, quia pastor sapientia et doctrina debet præditus esse. Nam et ideo rationale iudicii dicitur, quia debet rector ecclesiæ subtili semper examinatione bona malaque discernere, et quid vel quibus, quando et qualiter conveniat, studiose cogitare. Hoc enim quod dicitur, *Pones in rationale iudicii doctrinam et veritatem*, ut videlicet habeat scientiam scripturarum, quo possit alios docere, et contradicentes arguere. Quadrangulum erat, propter quatuor Evangeliorum doctrinam: duplex, propter scientiæ et operis firmitatem. Mensura palmi, quod est digitorum extensio, designat discretionem in perseverantia bonorum operum.

Quatuor ordines lapidum, qui erant in rationali, nominibus patriarcharum insculpti, quatuor exprimunt principales virtutes, prudentiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem, iustitiam. Terni in unoquoque lapides, fidem sanctæ Trinitatis, sive fidem, spem, et charitatem, demonstrant. Quæ omnia in pectore pontificis necessario esse debere, hujus ornamenti, id est, rationalis specie præmonetur. Tiara, quæ et cidaris et mitra vocatur, et contegebat et ornabat caput pontificis, admonet eum omnes sensus capitis Deo consecrare debere, ne vel oculi pateant ad videndum vanitatem, vel cæteri sensus, qui in capite vigent, iniquitati consentiant, et per illos intronata delectatio incestet animi sanctitatem. Lamina aurea, divinæ majestatis atque potentiæ figura est, quæ in fronte pontificis deportabatur, quia illa ineffabilis Deitatis potentia cunctis, quæ creavit, supereminet: et idcirco, quasi cuncta

²³⁸ *Ut priorum patrum fidem et exemplum sequatur* . . . So St. Gregory, quoted at p. 58.

²³⁹ *Rationale* . . . in fronte. By "frons"

is here meant not the "brow" or "forehead," but the "front." Compare the expression used by St. Gregory (*sup.* p. 56) in *prima sui corporis parte*.

sanctificans, eximiam sibi sedem in fronte, hoc est, in mentis principitate constituit.

Quatuor literæ in lamina scriptæ, quatuor sunt cornua crucis, totum mundum complectentis. Cruci enim Christi in omni creatura apex²⁴⁰ conceditur, qua omnium fidelium frontes signantur.

Quod lamina semper in fronte pontificis esse videbatur, ostendit, quia dignitatem, quam præstendit in habitu, exercere semper debet in opere, ut Domini placitum semper habere, et subditorum vota Domino idoneus sit semper offerre. Feminalia, quibus pudenda loca corporis tegebantur, continentiam a concubitu designant, quæ magnopere omnibus gradibus observanda præcipitur. Unde dicitur, *ad velandam turpitudinem*. Turpe est enim, sacerdotem nota lascivæ ætatis infamari, quem convenit velut in arce castimoniam, ab omnibus suspici et venerari.

Quod vero feminalia ipsi sibi imponant, cætera Moyses : designat, unumquemque se à carnali concupiscentia refrenare debere. Deinde virtutibus sibi subditos, quasi Moysen ministrum templi vestibus, exornare.

OF THE VESTMENTS OF CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD.

I. THE SANDALS.

Sandalia dicuntur soleæ. Est autem genus calceamenti, quo induuntur ministri Ecclesiæ, subterius quidem solea muniens pedes à terra, superius vero, nil operimenti habens, patet : quo iussi sunt Apostoli à Domino indui. Significat autem, ministrum verbi Dei non debere terrenis incumbere, sed potius cælestibus inhiare, et prædicationem suam nulli occultare.

2. THE SUPERHUMERAL.

Post sandalias in Ecclesiæ vestimentis sequitur Superhumerales,²⁴¹ quod sit ex lino purissimo. Per linum quod ex terra sumitur, et per multos labores ad candorem ducitur, designatur corpus humanum, quod ex terra constat. Sicut ergo linum per multos labores ad can-

²⁴⁰ *Apex*. The highest point of anything, and so "the place of highest honour."

²⁴¹ *Superhumerales*. He means the "amice" (*amictus*) as he had said above, p. 111, *superhumerales quod amictum vocamus*.

dorem perducitur, ita corpus humanum multis calamitatibus attritum, candidum et purum esse debet ab omni forde peccatorum.

3. THE ALB.

Postea sequitur *podéris*, quæ vulgo Alba dicitur. Significat autem perseverantiam in bona actione. Hinc Joseph inter fratres suos, talarem tunicam habuisse describitur. Tunica usque ad talum, est opus bonum usque ad consummationem. In talo enim finis est corporis. Ille ergo bene inchoat, qui rectitudinem boni operis usque ad finem debitæ perducit actionis. Qui enim perseverarit usque in finem, hic salvus erit.

4. THE GIRDLE.

Deinde sequitur *Zona*, quæ cingulum dicitur, qua restringitur *podéris*, ne laxè per pedes diffuat. Per quam designatur discretio omnium virtutum: virtutes enim sine discretione, non virtutes, sed vitia sunt: nam virtutes in quodam meditullio sunt constitutæ.

5. THE STOLE.

Sequitur *orarium*. *Orarium*, id est, stola, dicitur eo quod oratoribus, id est, prædicatoribus concedatur. Admonet illum, qui illo induitur, ut memor sit, sub jugo Christi, quod leve et suave est, esse se constitutum.

6. THE DALMATIC.

Dalmatica quæ sequitur, ob hoc dicitur, eo quod in Dalmatia sit reperta. Usus autem Dalmaticarum à B. Silvestro Papa institutus est: nam antea colobiis utebantur. Colobium vero est vestis sine manicis. Significat autem in eo quod est sine manicis, unumquemque fidelem exercitatum esse debere ad bona opera exercenda. Cum ergo nuditas brachiorum culparetur, ut diximus, à B. Silvestro Dalmaticarum repertus est usus. Est autem vestimentum in modum crucis, monens, indutorem suum crucifixum esse debere mundo, juxta Apostolum, *Mibi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo*. Habet etiam in sinistra parte sui fimbrias. Per sinistram partem præsens vita figu-

ratur, quæ diversis curis abundat: quæ curæ significantur per fimbrias sinistræ partis. Per dexteram quæ fimbriis caret, futura vita exprimitur, in qua nullæ curæ sollicitant animas sanctorum. Inconfutis etiam est, quia in Ecclesia vel in corde uniuscujusque fidelis, nulla debet esse scissura, sed indiscissa fidei integritas. Sinistrum latus habet fimbrias, quia actualis vita sollicita est, et turbatur erga plurima. At dexterum latus non habet, quia contemplativa vita nihil in se habet sinistrum. Largitas ²⁴² brachiorum, largitatem et hilaritatem datoris significat. Diaconus qui non est indutus Dalmatica, Casula circumcinctus legit, ut expedite possit ministrare, vel quia ipsius est ire ad comitatum propter instantes necessitates.

7. THE MANIPLE.

Mappula quæ sinistra parte gestatur, qua pituitam oculorum et narium detergimus, præsentem vitam designat, in qua superfluos humores patimur.

8. THE CHASUBLE.

Casula quæ super omnia indumenta ponitur, significat charitatem, quæ alias virtutes excellit. De qua Apostolus, commemoratis quibusdam virtutibus, ait: *Major autem horum est charitas.*

9. THE PALLIUM.

Pallium Archiepiscoporum super omnia indumenta est, ut lamina in fronte pontificis. Pallium nihil est aliud, nisi discretio inter Archiepiscopum et ejus suffraganeos. Pallium significat torquem, quem solebant legitime certantes accipere. Hoc etiam erat lamina illa, ut dixi, quam summus pontifex circa tempora ferebat, in qua scriptum erat nomen Dei Tetragrammaton, id est, quatuor literarum, יהוה, Jod, He, Vau, et Heth. Est autem interpretatio, Jod, principium, He iste, Vau vita, et Heth passio, id est, iste est principium passionis vitæ. Passi igitur sunt multi ante Christum, sed nemo eorum per suam passionem hominibus vitam attulit: Christus vero, cujus sanguis in cruce fusus

²⁴² All that follows from here to the end of the chapter is a kind of *canto* from earlier writers, quoted in this volume, especially (see notes 243, 244) from Amalarius.

est pro totius mundi redemptione, humano generi attulit vitam. Secundum alium doctorem, Jod principium, He iste, Vau et Heth vita interpretatur. Quod ita potest conjungi, Iste est principium et vita Christus. Vocabatur autem hoc nomen sanctum Domini, quod interpretatur ineffabile, non quod non fari, sed quod diffiniri, ut est, minime possit.

Stephanus natione Romanus ex patre Jobio, ut legitur in gestis Pontificalibus, constituit sacerdotibus Levitisque vestes sacras in usu quotidiano non uti nisi in Ecclesia. Hinc Hieronymus in libro 14. super Ezechielem, *Porro religio alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu viteque communi*. Sudario solemus tergere pituitam oculorum et narium, atque superfluam salivam decurrentem per labia: significat studium mundanæ [Leg. mundandæ] cogitationis. In manu sinistra portatur, ut ostendatur in temporali vita tædium nos pati superflui humoris. Varietas²⁴³ Sandaliorum, varietatem significat ministeriorum. Episcopi et sacerdotis pene unum officium est. At quia nomine et honore, discernuntur etiam et varietate sandaliorum, ut visibus nostris error auferatur. Episcopus habet ligaturam in suis sandaliis, quam non habet Presbyter. Episcopi est huc illucque discurrere per parochiam: ne forte cadant sandalia de pedibus, ligata sunt. Presbyter qui domi hostias immolat, sublimius²⁴⁴ incedit. Diaconus quia dissimilis est episcopo in suo officio, non est necesse ut habeat dissimilia sandalia: et ipse ligaturam habet, quia suum est ire ad comitatum. Subdiaconus qui in adiutorio Diaconi est, et pene in eodem officio, necesse est ut habeat dissimilia sandalia, ne forte Diaconus æstimetur. Sandalia significant, quia prædicator neque cælestia debet abscondere, neque terrenis inhiare.

²⁴³ What is here said of the sandals is identical, almost to a word, with a passage of Amalarius already quoted (p. 104). See note in loc.

²⁴⁴ *Sublimius*. This is scarcely intelligible. In the parallel passage of Amalarius (p. 104) we find *securius*, "more carelessly," "with

less of precaution" (i.e. without this *ligatura*). And this probably is the true reading here. A similar comparison supplies the correction, *mundandæ* for *mundanæ*, given above. Probably also in line 16 above, *discernuntur* should be read twice, as in the parallel passage.

XXXV.

B. IVO CARNOTENSIS.²⁴⁵DE ECCLESIASTICIS SACRAMENTIS ET OFFICIIS
SERMONES.SERMO IN SYNODO DE SIGNIFICATIONIBUS INDUMENTORUM
SACERDOTALIUM.

QUIA sanctitas ministerii sanctitatem expetit ministrorum, quales ad sacerdotium promoveri debeant personæ, in superiori sermone breviter ex Apostolica institutione commemoravimus, sed in quo habitu ordinari vel ad altare accedere debeant, illi sermoni non inferuimus. De indumentis ergo sacerdotalibus, vel de pontificalibus, diligenter considerandum est, quid in moribus sacerdotum significet illa varietas vestium, quid fulgor auri, quid nitor gemmarum : ²⁴⁶ cum nihil ibi debeat esse ratione carens, sed forma sanctitatis et omnium imago virtutum. Sicut enim bona domus in ipso vestibulo agnoscitur, sic Christi sacerdos cultu sacrarum vestium ostendit exterius, qualis apud se esse debeat interius. Iste autem sacrarum vestium ritus, per Moysen sumpsit exordium : quamvis Christiana religio, plus intenta rebus quam figuris, sacerdotes suos non omnibus illis veteribus induit ornamentis.

§ 2. THE LEVITICAL VESTMENTS AND INSIGNIA.

Inspiciamus ergo prius veterum ornamenta pontificum, vel quo ordine illis utebantur, vel cum ordinarentur, vel cum thymiama oblaturi sancta sanctorum ingrederentur. Deinde nostra cum illorum indumentis conferentes, quid simile, quid dissimile inter se habeant, et quomodo etiam in rebus significatis conveniant, attendamus. Duo

²⁴⁵ St. Ivo (or Yvo) was born at Beauvais, and was a pupil of Lanfranc, then Prior of Bec. We first hear of him as Abbot of S. Quintin, in his native town, and afterwards as Bishop of Chartres (*Carnota*). He died A.D. 1115. See Cave, H. L. vol. ii. p. 160. The text is that of Hittorpius. But the di-

vision of the text into sections is that of the present editor.

²⁴⁶ Note that at this period (close of eleventh century) gold and jewels are spoken of as decorations of Christian vestments, for it is of these last, evidently, not of Jewish vestments, that St. Ivo here speaks.

enim Cherubin propitiatorium adspiciunt, quia sacramenta utriusque testamenti ad divinæ propitiationis fidem intendunt; quæ in sacerdotio veteri sub multiplici est sacrificiorum velamine adumbrata, in novo autem testamento per unum verum perfectumque est sacrificium completa. In ornamentis itaque utrorumque sacerdotum et sublimitas sacerdotii commendatur, et sacerdotum casta dignitas significatur, quatenus²⁴⁷ per exteriorem habitum discant, quales intra se debeant esse, qui vices illius veri summi Pontificis gerunt, in quo fuit omnis plenitudo virtutum, quam profitentur exteriora ornamenta membrorum.

Sed jam ad id, quod proposuimus, veniamus: et primum, qualiter Moïses Aaron et filios ejus, Domino jubente, ornaverit, et postea induerit, videamus. Sic enim legitur in Levitico (Lev. viii.): *Et fecit Moïses, sicut præcepit ei Dominus: et convocavit synagogam ad januam tabernaculi testimonii, et applicuit Moïses Aaron fratrem suum et filios ejus, et lavit eos aqua, et vestivit eum tunica, et præcinxit eum zona, et vestivit eum tunica interiore, et imposuit ei superhumeralis, et cinxit eum secundum facturam humeralis, et imposuit super eum logion, et super logion manifestationem et veritatem, et imposuit super caput ejus mitram, et posuit super mitram ante faciem ejus laminam auream, in qua scriptum erat nomen Domini.*

Notandus est ordo verborum. Licet enim de constituendo pontifice præcepisset Dominus, et elegisset, tamen vocatur Synagoga. Idcirco enim requiritur præsentia populi in eligendo sacerdote, ut sciant omnes, quia qui doctior est ex omni populo, qui omni virtute præstantior, hic eligi debet ad sacerdotium, et hoc cum consensu Ecclesiæ, ne qua postea retractatio, ne quis scrupulus remaneat, sed omnium testimonio commendetur, secundum Apostolum (1 Tit. iii.): *Oportet episcopum bonum habere testimonium ab his qui foris sunt.* Ita plebis testimonio approbatus primo lavat, postea induit. Moïses quippe in hoc facto typum legis gerit, qui ordinandos sacerdotes prius lavat, antequam induat. Nisi enim quis prius fuerit per legis observationem probatus, non est ad sacerdotium promovendus.

§ 3. FIRST, THE LONG TUNIC OF LINEN.

Ita vero probatus, induitur tunica, quæ apud eos byssina est, apud nos linea. Byssus enim est genus lini candidissimi, et ad summum

²⁴⁷ Quatenus in mediæval writers is nearly equivalent to our own "to the end that."

candorem multa vexatione²⁴⁸ et ablutione perductum. Significat autem perfectam carnis munditiam, secundum illud quod in Apocalypsi legitur (Apoc. xix.): *Byssus sunt justificationes sanctorum*. Hanc munditiam caro sacerdotis ex se non habet, sicut nec linum ex se est candidum, sed sicut dictum est, multis castigationibus et ablutionibus reditur candidum, ut aptum fiat indumentis pontificum. Forma est sacerdotalis munditiæ, ut secundum Apostolum (1 Cor. ix.), sacerdotes carnem suam castigant, et in servitutem redigant: et præeunte gratia, habeant per industriam, quod non potuerunt habere per naturam. Hæc vestis Græce ποδήρης, id est, talaris, appellatur, quia a collo usque ad talos extenditur: et ita est arcta,²⁴⁹ et membris corporis temperata, ut sua forma testificetur, sacerdotem nihil habere dissolutum, nihil remissum, sed ad omne opus bonum esse expeditum.

§ 4. SECOND AND THIRD, THE GIRDLE AND THE LINEN DRAWERS.

Hæc eadem vestis circa renes zona fortius adstringitur, ut castitas sacerdotis nullo incentivorum æstu dissolvatur. Quod bene significatur in quatuor coloribus, quibus zona illa variata erat, byssō, purpura, hyacintho, et cocco: quibus coloribus quatuor elementa significantur:²⁵⁰ quorum complexione natura constat humana, quorum distemperantia fluxus carnis generat, nisi medicinali cohibeatur continentia. Talium enim conjectores²⁵¹ naturarum, per byssum, quia de terra oritur, terram; per purpuram, quia sanguine cochlearum marinarum tingitur, aquam; per hyacinthum, quia colorem ferri aeris imitatur, aërem; per coccum, qui colore flammeo rutilat, significari ignem voluerunt. Quorum, ut dictum est, exuberantia in renibus maxime superfluos humores, pravi humores illicitos motus, generant; qui nisi freno parsimonie reprimantur, castitatis dignitas in eis facili impulsu periclitatur. Ubi autem major est pugna, major est adhibenda custodia. Inde est, quod inter indumenta pontificalia²⁵² adhuc circa renes applicantur linea feminalia,

²⁴⁸ *Multa vexatione, &c.* Compare note 106, p. 60.

²⁴⁹ *Ita est arcta, &c.* It is of the Levitical vestment that he is here speaking, and here (as throughout) he follows closely in the steps of S. Jerome. See the passage quoted in p. 12, *sup.* and compare note 6, p. 2.

²⁵⁰ *Quatuor elementa.* This symbolism is spoken of by St. Jerome as having been learnt

by himself *ab Hebræis*. *Vid. sup.* p. 19, in *fin.*

²⁵¹ *Conjectores, i.e.* Interpreters.

²⁵² *Pontificalia.* This must refer to the Levitical pontifex (note 45, p. 26), or high-priest, for he says a few lines below, "*feminalibus non utuntur novi sacerdotii pontifices*:" and this being so, *adhuc* must be understood as meaning "furthermore."

non tam ad velandam carnis turpitudinem, quæ jam solitis operta est vestimentis, quam propter signum castitatis conservandæ. Unde et Apostolus dicit (1 Cor. xii.): *Honestæ nostræ nullius egent: Quæ autem inhonestæ sunt, his abundantiorē honorem circumdamus.* Feminalibus non utuntur novi sacerdotii pontifices, quibus est iuncta servandæ castitatis quotidiana necessitas, sicut est quotidie offerendi concessa potestas: cum pontifices umbræ servientes, expleta vice sua, feminalia sua solverent, tempore vicis suæ tamen ea induerent. Reliqua duo, poderis et zona, veteribus et novis sacerdotibus fiunt indumenta communia: quamvis zona nostrorum sacerdotum non sit quatuor intexta coloribus, aut propter penuriam materialium, aut propter absentiam artificum: undecunque tamen fit, et hæc et illa unum gerunt temperantiæ typum.

§ 5. FOURTH, THE TUNIC OF BLUE.

Sequitur quartum indumentum, tunica interior vel hyacinthina, quæ et in veteri et in novo testamento foli utuntur pontifices. Duabus enim tunicis merito induitur pontifex, quia debet de thesauro suo proferre nova et vetera, *i.e.* legem intelligere secundum literam, quemadmodum ante adventum Christi observabatur, et secundum spiritum, quemadmodum post adventum Christi intelligitur. Unde et secunda tunica, interior appellatur, vel hyacinthina, cujus color cæli serenitatem imitatur: ut per hoc intelligatur, quia pontifex plus debet de cælestibus cogitare, quam de terrenis. Rectus quippe ordo est, ut primum studeamus munditiæ carnis, per quam veniamus ad munditiam cordis, quæ nos provehat ad intellectum divinitatis, juxta illud (Matt. v.): *Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.*

§ 6. FIFTH, THE SUPERHUMERAL, OR EPHOD.²⁵³

Quinta vestis est superhumurale quæ Hebraice vocatur ephod. Hæc vestis, sacerdotalis simul et pontificalis apud nos est: apud Hebræos

²⁵³ By the "superhumeral" common to priests and bishops he means the "amice." Compare Hugo de S. Victor (quoted later in this volume), *amicus super humeros, quod nos superhumurale dicere possumus.* The amice (a square piece of linen, see note 178, p. 96) has this in common with the Levitical ephod (*superhumurale* of the Vulgate, *ἱσμις* apud LXX) that a portion of it lay upon the shoul-

ders. But in all other respects the amice and the ephod are as utterly unlike as two garments well could be; the latter being a close-fitting coat, shaped as may be seen in the picture of the Jewish high-priest among the illustrations of this volume. [Even Dr. Bock admits the entire absence of any resemblance between the two. Vol. ii. p. 20.]

vero, tantum pontificalis, et apud eos eisdem est variata coloribus, quibus et zona pontificalis, de qua dicitur in ordinatione pontificis: *Et circumcinxit eum (de Moise loquens) secundum facturam humeralis*. Humeri quippe fortes sunt ad agenda opera, et portanda onera, quæ ex circumductione humeralis, suis ligaturis confringuntur, quia pontificem et innocentia et operibus justitiæ oportet esse constrictum, ut in eo nihil inveniatur dissolutum, nihil remissum. Quod vero significant varii colores in zona, idem significant in superhumerali: quia quicquid de terrenis operamur, sive in largitione, sive in restrictione temporalium, totum fumimus ex contemperantia quatuor elementorum. Unde est quod quaternarius decies ductus, surgat in quadragenarium, quia elementorum quatuor abundantia legitime dispensata, quod significat denarius, ad verum perducit jubileum, qui exhibitione acquiritur bonorum operum. Quadragenarius enim numerus partibus suis denominatis quinquagenarium facit. Quo numero in lege supradictus jubileus (Lev. xxv.), i.e. remissionis annus exprimitur, veram præfigurans libertatem, quam qui adeptus fuerit, nullam timebit ulterius servitutem. Huic bonorum operum significationi concinit, quod in humerali duobus preciosis lapidibus insculpta erant nomina duodecim patriarcharum, sex in uno, et sex in altero: quorum alter superpositus erat dextro humero, alter sinistro. Nihil horum vacat a mysterio. Senarius enim, propter sui perfectionem, opera justitiæ significat: Nomina patriarcharum memoriam sanctorum, quam semper in exemplum bonorum operum habere debemus a dextris et a sinistris, id est, in prosperis et in adversis, significant. Et ideo illa nomina in lapidibus scribuntur: quia quod in lapide sculpsit, vix aut nunquam inde aboletur. Nec illud vacat a mysterio, quod pontifex cingitur secundum facturam superhumeralis, quia secundum opera sua unicuique retribuetur. Quod autem nostrorum pontificum superhumerale non est tot coloribus intextum, nec est tam preciosis gemmis redimitum, nihil refert, cum Christiana religio veritati serviens, compendiosis figuris idem intelligi faciat, quod vetus observantia sumptuosius.

§ 7. SIXTH, THE RATIONAL OR "BREASTPLATE."

Postquam pontificis ²⁵⁴ verenda velata sunt suis indumentis, postquam

²⁵⁴ *Pontificis*, i.e. the Levitical high-priest, but not without a reference to those Christian pontifices or bishops (note 45) to whom the right of wearing a "Rational" (see note 256) was conceded.

cælestia jam cœpit meditari, postquam iustitiæ operibus ornatus est, postquam utroque cingulo, ut in omnibus fortiter et perseveranter staret, confirmatus est, imponitur Rationale pectori pontificis, quod Græce logion dicitur, per quod sapientia, quæ in ratione consistit, indicatur. Imponitur Rationali manifestatio et veritas.²⁵⁵ Manifestatio ideo, quia non sufficit pontifici habere sapientiam, nisi etiam possit manifestare quæ novit, et reddere rationem de ea, quæ in nobis est, fide et spe. Veritas vero, quia non debet pontifex de suo corde prophetare, sed ea tantum quæ veritas habet, manifestare. Sunt autem adinvicem concatenata Rationale et Humerale: quia cohærere sibi invicem debent ratio et opera: ut quod mentis ratione concepimus, opere impleamus. Et notandus est ordo rerum: quia non prius Rationale, quam Humerale: quia non prius sapientia, quam opera: sed prius opera, deinde sapientia. Unde habetur in psalmo (Psa. cxviii.): *A mandatis tuis intellexi*: et de Domino Jesu dicitur (Act. i.), *Quæ Jesus cœpit facere et docere*. Deinde non prius manifestatio, quam Rationale: quia nemo docere debet quæ non novit. Huic ordini concordat propheta cum dicit (Ose. x.): *Seminate vobis ad iustitiam, et metite fructum vitæ, et illuminate vobis lumen scientiæ*. In hoc pectoris ornamento duodecim lapides inferti erant, XII. patriarcharum nomina in se sculpta habentes: quia sanctorum patrum exempla pontifex semper debet habere in memoria, et secundum ea moderari facta sua. In duodenario autem numero lapidum, potest significari apostolica doctrina: quia et ipsi lapides, per quatuor ordines sunt distributi, et terni et terni in singulis angulis Rationalis positi. Quod Apostolicæ doctrinæ bene congruit, quæ fidem Trinitatis per quatuor evangelia in omni parte mundi prædicavit. Hic ornatus solius erat pontificis, sicut et nunc²⁵⁶ est apud eos, quibus eo uti concessum est, propter distantiam majorum et minorum sacerdotum.

²⁵⁵ *Manifestatio et veritas*. This is the literal rendering of the ὁμολογία καὶ ἀλήθεια of the LXX. St. Jerome (quoted at p. 22) translates them by "*doctrina et veritas*." Our own translators have preserved the original Hebrew words Urim and Thummim, of which "light and perfection" would probably be the nearest translation. See Smith's Dict. of the Bible in voc.

²⁵⁶ *Sicut et nunc est, &c.* By the Rational "conceded" to certain among Christian bishops he means probably the Roman pallium, worn by Western archbishops under privilege of the

Roman See. In this comparison he follows the reputed Alcuin. See note 227, p. 111. Amalarius, on the other hand, regards this "pallium" as corresponding in significance to the "golden plate" of the high-priest. See note 195, p. 102. [Dr. Bock thinks that the Rational here spoken of was an actual jewel made in imitation of the Jewish Rational. This is not impossible. See Liturg. Gewänder, vol. i. p. 388, *sqq*; and compare Honorius August. Gemma Animæ. lib. i. cap. cxxiii. et ibi notata.]

§ 8. SEVENTH AND EIGHTH, THE "MITRA" AND THE GOLDEN PLATE.

Ita ornato pontifice,²⁵⁷ superponitur capiti ejus mitra, quæ alio nomine cidaris vel tiara vocatur, quæ regnum quinque sensuum,²⁵⁸ quo præminere pontifex debet, intelligitur. In capite enim usus habetur omnium corporalium sensuum: quod cum bene regitur, caput viri, id est, Christus decenter ornatur. Et quia caput Christi Deus est, Lamina aurea superponitur, cui insculptum est nomen Dei, quod Hebræi vocant ineffabile (1 Cor. ii.): ut per hoc intelligatur, Deum sicut omnium conditorem, ita esse rectorem: et ad honorem et gloriam ejus esse referendum, quicquid a Domini sacerdotibus bene fuerit dispensatum. Hæc indumenta, octo esse debere constituit Moyses in Exodo: sed in Levitico de eisdem indumentis tractans, de octavo, id est, fœminalibus, tacuit. Unde Hieronymus in epistola ad Fabiolam, scribit: Ubi refertur quomodo Moyses Aaron fratrem suum vestimentis pontificalibus induerit, de solis feminalibus nihil dicitur, hac, arbitror, causa: quia ad genitalia nostra et verenda lex non misit manum, quia ipsi secretiora nostra confessione digna tegere debemus et velare, et conscientiam puritatis Deo judici servare. De cæteris vero virtutibus, fortitudine, justitia, humilitate, mansuetudine, liberalitate, possunt et alii judicare: pudicitiam sola novit conscientia, et humani oculi certi hujus rei esse judices non possunt, absque his, qui passim in morem brutorum animalium in libidinem feruntur. Unde Apostolus (1 Cor. vii.): *De virginibus autem præceptum Domini non habeo.* Et in Evangelio cum Dominus de eunuchis voluntariis et non voluntariis ageret, addidit in fine (Matt. xix.): *Qui potest capere, capiat.* Tanquam diceretur: Feminalibus ego vos non vestio, nec impono alicui necessitatem. Qui vult sacerdos esse, ipse se vestiat, ipse se castitate muniat. Igitur ipsi assumamus feminalia, ipsi nostra verecunda operiamus, non quæramus alienos oculos: ita tegantur genitalia, ut cum intramus sancta sanctorum, nulla appareat turpitude, ne moriamur.

²⁵⁷ Pontifice. Here again the Levitical high-priest, as is clear from what he says of the "*lamina aurea*" put upon his head, compared with what he says below (§ 9) when

speaking of Christian priests and bishops, "*nulli autem lamina aurea.*"

²⁵⁸ Regnum quinque sensuum. Compare Venerable Bede, quoted above, p. 80 (§ 6).

§ 9. DISTINCTIONS IN THE USE OF THESE VESTMENTS.

Notandum vero est, quod minoribus sacerdotibus neque duplex tunica datur, neque humerale, neque rationale, neque lamina aurea, sed tantum poderis, et mitra, et zona, qua stringatur tunica byssina. Funguntur tamen sacerdotio, sed non illa sublimitate, qua funguntur, qui omnibus octo indumentis decorantur. Novi quoque testamenti sacerdotes non omnibus illis utuntur indumentis, quia nec duabus utuntur tunicis, nec rationali, præter solos pontifices: nulli autem lamina aurea, quia sicut dicit B. Hieronymus in supramemorata epistola, *quod olim in lamina monstrabatur, nunc in signo crucis ostenditur. Auro enim legis, sanguis evangelii preciosior est.* [Supra, p. 24, note 42.]

§ 10. VESTMENTS OF CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD.

Utuntur autem tunica linea, quæ poderis dicitur, vel talaris, quæ omnium figurat castigationem membrorum, et zona quæ tunicam stringit, quæ dissolutam et remissam prohibet esse castitatem. Utuntur et superhumerali,²⁵⁹ per quod exiguntur opera justitiæ a sacerdote, quia non sufficit temperantia, et a malo abstinencia, quæ superioribus duobus indumentis figurabatur, nisi opera justitiæ et misericordiæ subsequantur. Unde et in Psalmo dicitur (Ps. xxxiii. ; 1 Pet. iii.): *Define a malo, et fac bonum.* Unde ipsum humerale poderi adstringitur. Utuntur et stola, quæ alio nomine orarium vocatur: qua vetus sacerdotium non utebatur. Hoc tanquam jugum bobus arantibus vel triturantibus collo juxta humeros superponitur, ut illud evangelicum ab eis impleatur (Matt. xi.): *Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde: Jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve.* Hæc a collo per anteriora descendens, dextrum latus ornat et sinistrum, ut doceat sacerdotem, per arma justitiæ a dextris et a sinistris, id est, in prosperis et adversis, debere esse munitum: quod ad fortitudinem pertinet, sine qua cæteræ virtutes facile expugnantur, et minime coronantur.²⁶⁰ Unde dicit Apostolus (Heb. x.): *Patientia vobis neces-*

²⁵⁹ Utuntur et superhumerali. See above, note 253.

²⁶⁰ Minime coronantur, i.e. win not the vic-

tor's crown (compare note 54, p. 32), which the Lord bestoweth on them that are faithful unto the end.

saria est, ut reportetis repromissiones : et in evangelio Dominus (Matt. x. ; xxiv.) : *Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit*. Inde est quod stola cum zona poderis quibusdam nexibus colligatur : quia virtutes virtutibus adjuvantur, ne aliquo tentationis impulsu moveantur. His omnibus indumentis superponitur casula,²⁶¹ quæ alio nomine planeta vocatur : quæ quia communis est vestis, charitatem significat (1 Cor. xii.), quæ universis virtutibus superponitur : quia cæteræ virtutes nihil sine ea utile operantur. Unde dicit Apostolus (1 Cor. xii.) : *Et adhuc excellentiorem viam docebo vos. Aemulamini charitatem*. Et quam inutiles absque ea sint cæteræ virtutes, subsequenter approbatur, cum præcipuas virtutes, scientiam scilicet linguarum, distributionem rerum propriarum, ipsum quoque martyrium, sine ea nihil esse confirmat. Et ideo prudentiæ ponitur loco, quia plenitudo legis est dilectio. Et quia mentibus bene compositis, et divino cultui mancipatis, frequenter subrepat acedia,²⁶² oportet ut ad eam frequenter detergendam diligens adhibeatur vigilantia, qua ab oculis cordis emergens talis sæpe mundetur pituita. Unde in sinistra manu ponitur quædam mappula, quæ sæpe fluentem oculorum pituitam tergat, et oculorum lippitudinem removeat. Hæc quippe ornamenta, ut dictum est, non sunt ipse virtutes, sed virtutum insignia, quibus tanquam scripturis admonentur utentes, quid debeant appetere, quid vitare, et ad quem finem sua facta dirigere. Adjiciendum est supradictis, quia Levitæ suo modo utuntur supramemoratis indumentis : idem significantibus, quod significant in presbyteris. Utuntur Levitæ Dalmatica, quæ propter sui latitudinem curam proximorum significat, quod significabat in presbyteris casula : quia utrorumque istorum ministrorum, ad implendam dilectionem, eadem debet esse custodia.

§ 11. SPECIAL VESTMENTS WORN BY BISHOPS AND CARDINALS.

Utuntur episcopi et cardinales presbyteri sandaliis, quæ calceamenta sunt prædicatorum. Habent autem ad terram soleam integram, ne pes tangat terram : supra vero constat ex corio, quibusdam locis per-
tuso : ²⁶³ quia evangelium non debet terrenis commodis inniti, nec omnia evangelica sacramenta omnibus revelari, nec omnibus abscondi. Unde

²⁶¹ *Casula* . . . *charitatem significat*. Compare Rabanus Maurus (Cap. 21) quoted above at p. 91.

²⁶² *Acedia*. An imported Greek word, ἀκηδία, for the older ἀκηδεια, "carelessness."

²⁶³ See Bock Liturg. Gewänder, vol. ii. p. 12.

et Dominus discipulis ita dicebat (Matt. xiii.): *Vobis datum est nōsse mysterium regni Dei: cæteris autem in parabolis, ut videntes non videant, et audientes non intelligant.* Hanc sandaliorum significationem propheta intelligebat, quando dicebat (Esa. lii.; Rom. x.): *Quam speciosi pedes annuntiantium pacem, evangelizantium bona.*

Antequam induantur sandaliis, vestiuntur caligis byffinis vel lineis, usque ad genua protensis, et ibi bene constrictis: per quas significatur, quia debent rectos gressus facere pedibus suis: et genua debilia, id est, negligentis resoluta, roborare, et sic ad prædicandum evangelium festinare.

§ 12. UNCTION OF HANDS AND OF HEAD IN ORDINATION.

Unguntur præterea manus ²⁶⁴ presbyteris et episcopis, ut cognoscant se in virtute sancti spiritus hoc sacramento gratiam consecrandi accipere, et opera misericordiæ erga omnes pro viribus exercere debere. Episcopo vero specialiter caput ungitur, ut intelligat se esse illius vicarium, de quo dicitur in Psalmo (Ps. xlv.): *Unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo lætitiæ præ confortibus tuis.* Accipiunt hac unctione claves regni cælorum, ut quæcunque ligaverint super terram, sint ligata et in cælis (Matt. xviii.): et quæcunque solverint super terram, sint soluta et in cælo: et quorum peccata detinuerint, sint detenta, et quorum peccata dimiserint, sint dimissa (Joan. xx.)

§ 13. PRACTICAL EXHORTATION.

His ita de ornatu sacerdotali et pontificali breviter prælibatis, admonendi estis, ut sicut sacramenta profunda audistis, sic ea studeatis et corde intelligere, et opere implere. Non enim auditores legis iusti sunt apud Deum, sed factores. Potest enim unusquisque vestrum intra se regale habere sacerdotium et sacerdotes ornatus, si quem abluerit et mundum fecerit legis observatio, et si gratia baptismi et unctio christi illibata permanferit, et si indutus duplicibus indumentis, literæ scilicet et spiritus, fuerit; et si in his fortiter accingatur, ut sit castus

²⁶⁴ *Unguntur manus.* This ceremony is | tical of Bishop Landulfus, given in this
represented in the illustrations from the Pon- | volume.

mente et corpore; si etiam superhumerali operum justificetur, si stola fortitudinis a dextris et a sinistris muniatur, si plenitudine scientiæ, quam planeta significat, cumuletur: potest, inquam, ita ornatus intra Dei templum, quod ipse est, verum habere sacerdotium. Qui autem nec sacris vestibus induti, nec honestis moribus ornati, ad altare Dei accedere præsumperint, sicut filii Aaron, Nadab et Abihu, igne alieno, quem offerebant ante Dominum, consumpti sunt (Lev. x.); ita isti non divina ordinatione, sed sua præsumptione sacerdotium sibi usurpantes, cum his, qui ad regales nuptias sine veste nuptiali intraverunt (Matt. xxii.), æternis ignibus sunt cruciandi. Unde dicitur in Levitico (Lev. xvi.): *Et dixit Dominus ad Moysen: Loquere ad Aaron fratrem tuum, ne intret omni hora in sancta interiora, ut non moriatur.* Unde ostenditur, quod si inordinate intraret sancta sanctorum, non preparatus, non indutus sacerdotalibus indumentis, non propitiato sibi prius Deo, morietur: et merito, tanquam qui non fecerit ea, quæ oportet fieri, antequam accedatur ad altare Dei. Ad omnes enim nos pertinet, nos omnes instruit lex Dei, ut sciamus quod debeamus accedere ad altare Dei, et offerre, scilicet ut deponamus vestimenta fordida, id est, carnis immunditiam, pravitatem morum, inquinamenta libidinum. Unde et in eodem Levitico, cum enumerasset Dominus vestes, quibus induendus erat Aaron et filii ejus, adjunxit (Exod. xxviii.): *Vesties his omnibus fratrem tuum, et filios ejus cum eo, et cunctorum consecrabis manus, sanctificabisque illos, ut sacerdotio fungantur mihi.* Sequitur: *Et utentur eis Aaron et filii ejus, quando ingredientur testimonii tabernaculum, quando appropinquabunt ad altare, ut ministrent in sanctuario, ne iniquitatis rei moriantur.* Ex his omnibus colligitur, quanta sit dignitas sacerdotalis ministerii, et quanta esse debeat sanctitas ministrorum: ²⁶⁵

²⁶⁵ It will be seen by the passage above quoted, that St. Ivo, writing at the close of the eleventh century, enumerates the following as the vestments of Christian ministry: — 1. Linen Tunic. 2. Girdle. 3. Superhumeral (*i.e.* Amice). 4. Stole. 5. Chasuble (or "Planeta"). 6. Maniple. He mentions also the dalmatic as worn by deacons in place of the Chasuble proper to priests. The vestments worn by bishops only, are the second tunic (§ 9), and (by some at least among them, note 256) the Rational, whether the pallium of archbishops, or a Jewel worn on the Breast. Bishops were distinguished also by sandals of a peculiar shape, and by buskins (*caligæ*) made of linen.

It will be observed that while he mentions the "Mitra," or linen cap of the Levitical priest, he is silent as to any similar ornament among the Christian vestments. The truth seems to be that in the eleventh century the "Mitra" had been already introduced as a distinctive vestment at Rome (Hefele, pp. 230, 231), and through Rome to particular churches in Germany and elsewhere. But it was not in St. Ivo's time regarded as one of the acknowledged vestments of Christian ministry. Of the "golden plate" he says distinctly that it was nowhere worn, "*nulli lamina aurea*" (§ 9).

quam qui habuerit, sacerdotii merito non carebit. Qui vero non habuerit, et sacerdotii officium usurpaverit, merito cum supra memoratis præsumptoribus interibit. Multa de sacerdotii dignitate, multa de indumentorum sacerdotium mystica pulchritudine, vitantes prolixitatem sermonis, præterivimus: hoc intendentes, quia ad ædificationem morum, et ad utilitatem audientium ista sufficiunt.

XXXVI.

HUGO A SANCTO VICTORE.²⁶⁶THE SACERDOTAL VESTMENTS OF CHRISTIAN
MINISTRY.

SERMO XIV. [TOM. II. p. 222].

[HE preaches on the words of Pf. cxxxi. "Let thy priests (*sacerdotes*) be clothed with righteousness." He is addressing his brethren of the clergy only.]

Oportet, fratres carissimi, ut nos qui in domo Dei sacerdotio fungimur, dignam sacerdotis justitiam ducamus, et honestis in officio vestibus induamur, immo virtutes quæ per vestes sacerdotales designantur, exerceamus. Quid namque prodest ornari vestibus, nisi ornemur virtutibus? Certe si videremus sacerdotem sine sacerdotalibus vestimentis missam celebrare, sine alba, sine stola, sine infula, multum miraremur, et cum horrore nimio monstrum tale detestaremur. Si ergo detestandus esset qui accederet ad altare sine vestibus, quam detestandus quam horrendus est qui accedere præsumit cum vitiis et sine virtutibus? Quantum distat inter vas quodlibet et cibum, tantum distat inter significans et significatum. Vestes significant, virtutes significantur. Vestes foris coram populo decorant, virtutes intus coram Domino ministrum commendant. Sicut igitur non audemus accedere ad altare sine vestibus, sic non præsumamus accedere sine virtutibus.

Videamus denique quæ sunt istæ vestes, et quæ per eas significantur virtutes. Sunt ergo vestimenta, interior linea, exterior scilicet alba, amictus super humeros, quod nos superhumera dicere possumus, zona, stola, manipula, infula. Ante omnia debet sacerdos quotidiana vestimenta deponere, deinde manus abluere, et sic candida vestimenta sumere. Depositio quotidianorum vestimentorum significat veteris hominis depositionem; ablutio manuum, criminum confessionem; assumptio novorum vestimentorum virtutum exercitationem.

²⁶⁶ Born 1096, died 1140, A.D. He was | Paris. The text which I have followed is
Abbot of the Monastery of St. Victor, near | that of Hittorpius.

Linea interior interiorius est, exterior exteriorius. Ista est in occulto, illa in manifesto. Ista latet, illa patet. Propterea interior significat munditiam cordis, exterior munditiam corporis.

Superhumorale quod supra humeros ponitur, ubi onera solent imponi, tolerantiam præsentium significat laborum, quæ nobis necessaria est si veri sacerdotes volumus esse. Unde de illis qui eam perdiderunt scriptum est (Eccl. xi.): *Væ his qui perdiderunt sustinentiam*. Et Dominus de laude patientiæ in evangelio ait: *In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras* (Luc. xxi.). Sustineamus ergo, fratres, quicquid nobis acciderit adversum, ut sicut bona suscepimus de manu Domini, ita et mala sustineamus.

Zona, quæ lumbos circumdat, et vestimenta constringit ne diffluant, virtutem continentiae insinuat, quæ fluxam luxuriæ nostræ lasciviam refrenat.

Stola, quæ collo imponitur, jugum suave Domini exprimit, de quo Dominus in Evangelio ait (Matt. xi.): *Jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve*.

Sequitur manipula, quæ in brachio sinistro dependet, quæ nihil aliud denotat sacramenti nisi quod pro cautela ibi ponitur, ne sacerdos aliquid in officio suo incaute et negligenter agat, sed omnia diligenter, sicut qui in conspectu Domini et sanctorum Angelorum consistit, perficiat. Significat ergo cautelam, per quam cavenda cavemus, et facienda facimus.

His omnibus minister Domini indutus, his omnibus adornatus, nondum est aptus officio sacerdotali, nec illud implere præsumit, nisi septimum, quod infula ²⁶⁷ dicitur, cæteris addatur et superimponatur. Istud vestimentum excellentius est cæteris, eminetque universis. Quam igitur virtutem per hoc significari dicimus nisi charitatem, de qua dicit Apostolus, *Adbuc vobis excellentiorem viam demonstramus. Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, &c.*, quæ bene novit fraternitas vestra. Qui cum alia dona spiritualia et virtutes demonstrasset, tandem de charitate intulit dicens, *Si linguis &c.* O beata virtus, Charitas; et beatus solus qui in ipsa usque in finem perseverat. Qui ergo cum aliis virtutibus charitatem habet, sacerdos est. Et qui etiam alias sine ista habet, sacerdos non est.

²⁶⁷ *Infula*. This is one of the few early instances of the use of this word to designate one of the Christian vestments. It here means not a covering for the head (which

would be in accordance with the classical usage of the word), but a chafuble. See below, note 268 *in fin*.

Habeamus igitur, si veri sacerdotes volumus esse, quod esse debemus. Habeamus interiorem lineam per munditiam cordis, exteriorem per munditiam corporis; Superhumerales per patientiam: zonam, per continentiam; stolam, per obedientiam; manipulum (*sic*), per cautelam; infulam²⁶⁸ per charitatem fraternam. His etenim omnibus armati sanctè et religiose perficiemus holocaustum Domini, et dicetur de nobis quod scriptum est, *Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium*. Tales fuerunt sancti quorum hodie sollennia celebramus. Tales, fratres charissimi, esse studeamus, ut et nos induamur iustitiam, et facti cum ipsis participes meritorum, fieri mereamur socii præmiorum. Quod per merita et intercessionem eorum nobis præstare dignetur, qui vivit et regnat.

²⁶⁸ In this passage, written some thirty years after that of St. Ivo last quoted, the enumeration of the Christian vestments corresponds nearly with his, with one apparent exception. He speaks of the two tunics, of the amice (which, he says, may also be called "superhumeral") of girdle, stole, maniple, but the last of the vestments, that which is "more excellent than the rest," which is "added to and superimposed" upon those first mentioned, which is typical of charity,

is with St. Hugo not "*casula*," but "*infula*." The whole context of this passage points plainly to the conclusion that *infula* is here only another name for the chasuble. Such an interpretation is not in accordance with the classical usage of the term, but another passage of the same writer is conclusive as to his meaning. *Casula, quæ alio nomine Planeta vel Infula dicitur*. [*Speculum Eccl.* lib. i. cap. 6, apud Dufresne.]

XXXVII.

HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS.²⁶⁹

SACRED VESTMENTS AND INSIGNIA.

GEMMA ANIMÆ, LIB. I. CAP. 89.

ORIGIN OF THE VESTMENTS.

APOSTOLI et eorum successores in quotidianis vestibus et ligneis²⁷⁰ calicibus missam celebraverunt: sed Clemens, tradente Petro Apostolo, usum sacrarum vestium ex Lege sumpsit: et Stephanus Papa in sacris vestibus missas celebrari constituit.

LIB. I. CAP. 193. OF THE CLERICAL TONSURE.

Tonsura clericorum initium sumpsit ab usu Nazaræorum. Hi ex iussu legis crines suos radebant, et in sacrificium Domino incendebant. Nazaræi autem dicuntur *sancti*. Unde Apostoli ad exemplum eorum ministros Ecclesiæ docuerunt se ob signum tondere, quo recordarentur se Domino in sanctitate servire debere. Christus rex et sacerdos fecit nos sibi et sacerdotes et reges. Pars capitis rafa est signum sacerdotale: pars crinibus comata signum regale. Sacerdotes quippe legis tiaram, id est, pileolum ex bysso in modum mediæ sphaeræ rotundum, in capite portabant: reges aureas coronas gestabant. Ergo rafa pars capitis tiaram, circulus crinium refert coronam.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ Very little is known concerning this writer, as will appear from the following. "Histoire de la Vie d'Honoré. Le titre de cet article énonce presque tout ce que nous favons de certain sur la personne d'Honoré." *Hist. Lit. de la France*, tom. xii. p. 165. "Honorius haud diu post annum 1152 obiisse videtur, quod facile conjicias de scriptore qui jam inter annos 1122 et 1125 se floruisse et

majorem partem librorum suorum edidisse disertis verbis affirmat." Wilman, *apud Patrol.* tom. clxxii. p. 13. Ed. *Migne*.

²⁷⁰ This probably refers to the same tradition as that implied in the saying of St. Boniface, quoted at p. 207. See note 209.

²⁷¹ In this Honorius follows closely upon S. Isidore of Seville, *De Off. Ecc.* vii. quoted at p. 68.

LIB. I. CAP. 198. WHITE GARMENTS, WHY WORN. AND WHY
SEVEN IN NUMBER.

Vestēs sacræ a veteri Lege sunt assumptæ. Ideo autem ministri Christi vel Ecclesiæ in albis vestibus ministrant, quia angeli,²⁷² æterni Regis ministri, in albis apparebant. Per albas itaque vestes admonentur ut Angelos Dei Ministros per castitatis munditiam in Christi servitio imitentur. Vestes vero, quibus corpus exterius decoratur, sunt virtutes, quibus interior homo perornatur. Septem autem vestes sacerdotibus ascribuntur, qui et septem ordinibus insigniti noscuntur, quatenus per septiformem Spiritum septem virtutibus resplendeant, quibus cum Angelis in ministerium Christi ornati procedant.

CAP. 201.

[*After describing the preparatory washing of the hands, and combing of the hair, with the spiritual significance of each act, in capp. 199, 200, he proceeds as follows*]:

THE AMICE.

Hinc Humerale,²⁷³ quod in Lege Ephod, apud nos Amictus dicitur, sibi imponit; et illo caput et collum et humeros (unde et Humerale dicitur) cooperit, et in pectore copulatum duabus vittis ad mammillas cingit. Per Humerale, quod capiti imponitur, spes cælestium intelligitur. . . . Hæc vestis est candida. . . .

CAP. 202. THE ALB.

Dehinc Alba induitur, quæ in Lege tunica linea vel talaris, apud Græcos podis (*leg. poderis*) dicitur. Per hanc castitas designatur, quæ tota vita sacerdotis decoratur. Hæc descendit usque ad talos, quia usque in finem vitæ debet in castimonia perseverare sacerdos. . . . Hæc vestis albedine candet, quia sanctitas coram Deo inter Angelos splendet.

²⁷² Compare S. Isidore *Hisp. De Off. Ecc.* viii. *supra*, p. 69.

²⁷³ For this identification of the "Amice" |

with the Levitical Ephod or Superhumeral, compare note 253, p. 122.

CAP. 203. THE GIRDLE.

Ex hinc Cingulo cingitur, quod in Lege Balteus, apud Græcos Zona dicitur. Per cingulum (quod circa lumbos præcingitur, et, Albæ ne diffuat et gressum impediat, astringitur), mentis custodia, vel conscientia, accipitur, quæ luxuria restringitur. . . .

CAP. 204. THE STOLE, OR ORARIUM.

Deinde circumdat collum suum Stola, quæ et Orarium dicitur, per quam obedientia Evangelii intelligitur. . . . Cap. 205. Per Stolam quoque innocentia exprimitur. . . . Hac patriarchæ ante Legem utebantur, et primogenita dicebantur. Erat autem vestis sacerdotalis quam majores natu cum benedictione patris, ut Jacob ab Isaac, induebant, et victimas Deo, ut pontifices, offerebant. Unde dicitur, *Vende mihi primogenita tua* (Gen. xxv. 31). Et iterum "*stola Esau*." Stola dicitur missa; ²⁷⁴ erat enim vestis candida pertingens ad vestigia, sed postquam cæpit portari Alba, mutata est, ut hodie cernitur Stola. ²⁷⁵

CAP. 206. THE UNDER-GIRDLE.

Exhinc Subcingulum, quod perizoma vel Subcinctorium ^{275a} dicitur, circa pudenda duplex suspenditur. Per hoc eleemosynarum studium accipitur, quo confusio peccatorum contegitur. Hoc duplicatur quia primum animæ suæ misereri peccata devitando, deinde proximo necessaria impendendo, cuilibet imperatur.

CAP. 207. THE CHASUBLE.

Deinde Casula ²⁷⁶ omnibus indumentis supponitur (*Leg. superponitur*),

²⁷⁴ *Stola dicitur missa*. I can only suppose these words as saying that the word "*stola*" means "sent;" and as having reference to the Greek origin of the word, viz. *στολή*, which again is a paronym of *στέλλω*, "*to send*." Honorius, like most of his contemporaries, was liable to make mistakes when dealing with Greek words.

²⁷⁵ This passage is somewhat obscurely worded, but its meaning appears to be this. By the word "*stola*" he thinks was meant originally a full robe (as in fact was the *stola*

matronalis of classical times), not a narrow border-like vestment such as was called "*stola*" in his own time. And the change from the primitive "robe" to the later "*stola*" was made, he thinks, when the "alb" or white tunic became the recognised dress of Christian ministry.

^{275a} *Subcinctorium*. On this word see note in the extracts from Innocent III. which follow.

²⁷⁶ Here again he follows S. Isidore. See note 130, p. 74.

per quam charitas intelligitur, quæ omnibus virtutibus eminentior creditur. Casula autem quasi parva cafa²⁷⁷ dicitur: quia sicut a cafa totus homo tegitur, ita charitas totum corpus virtutum complectitur. Hæc vestis et Planeta (quod error sonat) vocatur, eo quod errabundus limbus ejus utrinque in brachia sublevatur. [*He then dwells on the mystical meaning implied in the fact that the Chasuble is gathered in two folds on the breast, and in three upon the arms.*]

CAP. 208. THE FANON,²⁷⁸ OR MANIPLE.

Ad extremum sacerdos fanonem in finistrum brachium ponit, quæ et mappula et fudarium vocatur, per quod olim fudor et narium fordes extergebantur. Per hoc pœnitentia intelligitur, quia quotidiani excessus labes extergitur.

CAP. 209. THE SEVEN VESTMENTS WORN BY BISHOPS ONLY.

Episcopus eidem septem vestibus induitur, insuper et aliis septem redimitur, scilicet Sandaliis, Dalmatica, Rationali, Mitra, Chirothecis, Annulo, Baculo.

CAP. 210. THE SANDALS.

[*He sets forth the various mysteries to be found in the various parts of the Sandal, in the upper and lower leather, the black and the white leather, the strings, and the seams. He ends all by saying*]: Legis sacerdotes habebant Femoralia, quibus turpitudinem tegebant: Ecclesiæ sacerdotes sandalia portant, quia etiam aliis munditiam prædicant.

CAP. 211. THE DALMATIC.

Dalmatica a Dalmatia provincia est dicta, in qua primum est inventa. Hæc a Domini inconfutuli tunica, et Apostolorum colobio, est mutuata. Colobium autem erat cucullata vestis, sine manicis,

²⁷⁷ See note 130, p. 74.

²⁷⁸ Fanon. See note 161, p. 90; and note 233, p. 113.

sicut adhuc videmus in monachorum cucullis²⁷⁹ vel nautarum tunicis. Quod collobium a S. Sylvestro²⁸⁰ in Dalmaticam est versum; et additis manicis infra sacrificium portari instituta. Quæ ideo ad Missam a pontifice portatur, ubi passio Christi celebratur, quia in modum crucis²⁸¹ formatur. Hæc vestis est candida. . . . Hujus vestis manicæ sunt nostræ Gallinæ²⁸² alæ.

CAP. 213. THE "RATIONAL" WORN BY BISHOPS.

Rationale²⁸³ a Lege est sumptum, quod ex auro, hyacintho, purpura, unius palmi mensura erat factum. Huic Doctrina²⁸⁴ et Veritas, ac duodecim preciosi lapides contexti, nominaque filiorum Israel insculpta erant, et hoc Pontifex in pectore ob recordationem populi portabat. Hoc in nostris vestibus præfert (*Leg. præfertur*) per ornatum qui auro et gemmis summis Cafulis in pectore affigitur. Monet autem pontificem ratione vigere, auro sapientiæ,²⁸⁵ hyacintho²⁸⁶ spiritualis intelligentiæ, purpura patientiæ, in Christum, qui cælum palma²⁸⁷ mensurat, tendere debere, Doctrina²⁸⁸ et Veritate radiare, gemmis virtutum coruscare, duodecim Apostolos sanctitate imitari, totius populi in sacrificio recordari.

CAP. 214. THE EPISCOPAL CAP, OR MITRE.²⁸⁹

Mitra quoque Pontificis [note 45, *in fin.*] est sumpta ex usu Legis.

²⁷⁹ *Cuculla*. Compare note 151, p. 86.

²⁸⁰ Compare note 210, p. 107.

²⁸¹ Compare note 165, p. 91.

²⁸² I am unable to explain this allusion. The words seem to point to some provincial use of the term "*Gallinæ alæ*," as a designation for sleeves of a particular shape. [In the following chapter, which for brevity's sake I have omitted, Honorius sets forth the mystical symbolism of the Dalmatic.]

²⁸³ It is clear from what follows that in the time that Honorius wrote, the use of a breast-plate, in imitation of the Levitical "breast-plate" or "rational," had in some dioceses been introduced. It is also evident that in the time of the reputed Alcuin no such jewel was known to be in use. See note 227, p. 111. The passage of St. Ivo quoted at p. 124, and commented on in note 256, leaves

it doubtful whether he knew of any such ornament or no.

²⁸⁴ See note 255, p. 124.

²⁸⁵ *Auro sapientiæ*. For this symbolism compare St. Gregory the Great, quoted at p. 59. See note 107.

²⁸⁶ *Hyacintho . . . intelligentiæ*. This symbolism has its origin in the words of St. Jerome, quoted at p. 20, *in fin.* See note 30.

²⁸⁷ *Qui cælum palma, etc.* These words have reference, probably, to what he had said of the rational of the high-priest having *unius palmi mensuram*.

²⁸⁸ Compare note 255, p. 124.

²⁸⁹ Here for the first time [note 265, p. 129] we meet with mention of a mitra as one of the vestments of Christian ministry. It is still a cap made of linen only, as far as from this passage we can judge.

Hæc ex bysso conficitur, et Tiara [note 84, p. 52], Ydaros,²⁹⁰ Infula,^{290 a} Pileum, dicitur. . . . Mitra ex bysso facta, multo labore ad candorem perducta [note 106, p. 60], caput pontificis exornat. . .

CAP. 215. THE GLOVES, AND THEIR SYMBOLISM.

Chirothecarum usus ab epistolis^{290 b} (*Leg. apostolis*) est traditus. Per manus enim operationes, per chirothecas designantur earum occultationes. Sicut enim aliquando manus chirothecis velantur, aliquando exactis chirothecis denudantur, sic opera bona interdum propter arrogantiam declinandam celantur, interdum propter ædificationem proximis manifestantur. Chirothecæ induuntur cum hoc impletur: *Cavete ne iustitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus ut videamini ab iis* (Matt. vi). Rursus extrahuntur cum hoc impletur: *Luceat lux vestra coram hominibus ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum, qui in cælis est* (ib. v.). Chirothecæ sunt inconfutiles, quia actiones pontificis debent rectæ fidei esse concordēs.

CAP. 216. THE EPISCOPAL RING.

Annuli usus ex Evangelio acceptus creditur, ubi faginati vituli conviva prima stola vestitur, annulo insignitur (Luc. xv.). Olim solebant reges litteras cum annulo signare: cum hoc soliti erant et nobiles quique sponsas subarrhære. Fertur quod Prometheus quidam sapiens primus annulum ferreum ob insigne amoris fecerit, et in eo adamantem lapidem posuerit; quia videlicet sicut ferrum domat omnia, ita amor vincit omnia: et sicut adamas est infrangibilis, ita amor est insuperabilis. Quem enim in illo digito portare constituit, in quo venam ut cordis deprehendit, unde et annularis nomen accepit. Postmodum vero aurei sunt pro ferreis instituti, et gemmis pro adamante insigniti: quia sicut aurum cuncta metalla præcellit, ita dilectio universa bona

²⁹⁰ Ydaros. Sic libri impressi. This may have originated in *cydaris*, for the more correct *cidaris*, which is probably the true reading here.

^{290 a} Infula. Here clearly used in the sense which in liturgical writers it still retains, that of an episcopal cap, or mitre. Compare note 268, p. 153, where *infula* is used as the equivalent of *casula*.

^{290 b} There can be little doubt that Honorius wrote "apostolis." The text (Migne's) which I have here followed suggests the reading "episcopis." But this reading is contrary to sense; the other makes good sense but bad history, and is therefore probably the true one.

excellit: et sicut aurum gemma decoratur, ita amor dilectione perornatur. Pontifex ergo annulum portat, ut se sponsum ecclesiæ agnoscat, ac pro illa animam, si necesse fuerit, sicut Christus, ponat, mysteria scripturæ a perfidis sigillet, secreta ecclesiæ resignet.

CAP. 217. THE PASTORAL STAFF.

Baculus ex auctoritate Legis et Evangelii assumitur, qui et "virga pastoralis," et "capuita," et "ferula," et "pedum" dicitur. Moyses quoque, dum oves pavit, virgam manu gestavit. Hanc ex præcepto Domini in Ægyptum pergens secum portavit, hostes signis per eam factis terruit, qui velut lupi oves Domini transgulabant. Gregem Domini de Ægypto per mare Rubrum hac virga eduxit: pastum de cælo, potum de petra, hac produxit; ad terram lac et mel fluentem, velut ad pascua, hac virga induxit. Nihil autem hæc virga fuit quam baculus pastoralis, cum quo gregem utpote pastor minavit (*sic*). Hic baculus apud auctores "pedum" vocatur, eo quod pedes animalium illo retineantur. Est enim lignum recurvum quo pastores retrahunt pedes gregum. Cap. 218. In Evangelio quoque Dominus apostolis præcepit ut in prædicatione nihil præter virgam tollerent (Marc. vi.; Luc. ix.). Et quia episcopi pastores gregis Dominici sunt, ut Moyses et apostoli fuerunt, ideo baculum in custodia præferunt. Per baculum, quo infirmi sustentantur, auctoritas doctrinæ designatur. Per virgam, qua improbi emendantur, potestas regiminis figuratur. Baculum ergo pontifices portant, ut infirmos in fide per doctrinam erigant: virgam bajulant, ut per potestatem inquietos corrigant: quæ virga vel baculus est recurvus, ut aberrantes a grege docendo ad pœnitentiam trahat; in extremo est acutus, ut rebelles excommunicando retrudat, hæreticos velut lupos ab ovili Christi potestative exterreat. Cap. 219. Hic baculus ex ossè et ligno efficitur, quæ crystallina vel deaurata sphærule conjunguntur. In supremo capite insignitur; in extremo, ferro acuitur.

. . . Per durum os, duritia Legis; per lignum, mansuetudo ecclesiæ, insinuat; per gemmam sphærule, divinitas Christi. . . . Cap. 220. In sphærule est scriptum, HOMO, quatenus se hominem memoretur. Juxta ferrum est scriptum PARCE, ut subiectis in disciplina parcat, quatenus ipse a summo Pastore gratiam inveniatur. Unde

et ferrum debet esse retufum, quia iudicium sacerdotis per clementiam debet esse delibutum.²⁹¹

CAP. 221 AND 222. OF THE PALLIUM AND CROZIER.

His Insignibus Archiepiscopus fulget. Insuper et Pallio pollet, ut se Christi Passionem²⁹² populo præferre demonstret. In duabus quippe lineis Pallii, ante et retro, est purpureum sanctæ crucis signaculum. . . . Crux ante archiepiscopum portatur, quatenus Christum crucifixum sequi admoneatur. Pallium²⁹³ vero pro aurea lamina est institutum, in qua summus Pontifex in Lege Dei nomen Tetragrammaton, id est quattuor literas, in fronte sua præferebat inscriptum. Quattuor quippe literæ illius Nominis, quattuor cornua crucis præmonstrabant, sicut nunc Pallium crucis modum repræsentat. Et quia hæc lamina aurea cum forma Crucis in fronte Pontificis portabatur, ideo preciosa Crux frontibus Christianorum chrismate impressa portatur. Pallium autem a solo Apostolico²⁹⁴ datur, quia hæc dignitas a Romano²⁹⁴ Pontifice jure datur. Quos enim Apostoli provinciis præfecerunt, Archiepiscopi; quos illi pagani prætulerunt, Episcopi, dicebantur; et Apostolorum successores Patriarchæ, Petri vero successor "Apostolicus"²⁹⁴ nominabatur. Huic collata est potestas ab ecclesia archiepiscopos per provincias constituere, quod per Pallii largitionem accipitur. (Cap. 223.) Patriarchæ quoque et Apostolicus²⁹⁴ Pallio utuntur, qui eodem officio præditi esse noscuntur.²⁹⁵

CAP. 230. THE DEACON'S DALMATIC, STOLE, AND CHASUBLE.

Diacono . . . Dalmaticæ usus conceditur . . . Huic

²⁹¹ In the four chapters (or rather sections) occupied in the original by this subject of the "staff," I have omitted a good deal which was of no importance to the present work. Here, as in other parts of this work, any omission of this kind is indicated by a dotted line. For a further account of the staff and its symbolism, see the extracts from Innocent III. which follow.

²⁹² *Pallium* . . . *Passionem*. This symbolism refers to the purple crosses upon the archiepiscopal pallium.

²⁹³ *Pallium pro lamina*. So Alcuin quoted at p. 117.

²⁹⁴ *Apostolicus*. See note 174, p. 95.

²⁹⁵ From subsequent chapters of this treatise we learn that in Honorius' time the minor orders (below the subdeacon) wore three sacred vestments (*superhumale, tunica talaris, balteus*: see Cap. 226), and the subdeacon five, viz. the three last mentioned and in addition to them, the *subiile, quod et stricta tunica*, and the *sudarium* or manipule, see Cap. 229. And here, too (Cap. 227), we meet with mention of the *cappa* as the proper vestment of the *cantores*. [*'Cappa propria est vestis cantorum, quæ pro tunica hyacinthina Legis mutuata est.'*]

stola in sinistro humero ponitur, et trans scapulas ad dextrum latus reflectitur, quatenus jugo Christi activam vitam subdat, et per pii laboris exercitium ad contemplativam perficiat. Cap. 231. Cum Diaconus casulam²⁹⁶ portat tunc prædicatores significat. . . .

CAP. 235. VESTMENTS, WHY LOOSE AND LARGE.

Clericorum . . . vestis est laxa, quia clericalis vita debet esse in eleemosynis et bonis operibus larga.^{296 a}

²⁹⁶ With this mention of the chasuble as occasionally worn by deacons, compare note 189, p. 100, and Innocentius III. *Myſt. Miſs.* lib. i. cap. 5. From the latter we learn that on fast-days the deacon wore a chasuble gathered up in folds (*complicata*) on his left shoulder.

^{296 a} In the passage of Honorius above quoted we find proof of a considerable development of the Christian vestments here for the first time (as far as I am aware) formally recognised. The subdeacon has now [note 295] five distinct vestments, the yet inferior orders three; the deacon (as we may gather by inference) six; the priest (Cap. 198, p. 135 *ſup.*) seven; the bishop fourteen (Cap. 209, p. 137). St. Hugo, last quoted, speaks

only of the priest's vestments, those peculiar to bishops not being then in question, apparently. But St. Ivo [note 265, p. 129], speaks of but six vestments worn by priests, and of three others (second tunic, *caligæ*, and sandals) worn by bishops; some of whom, however, are spoken of as wearing a rational [note 256], and, if archbishops, a pallium. I may add that the word *infula*, has now (note 290^a) acquired its later technical meaning of a mitre; that the mitre itself is now for the first time spoken of as one of the distinctive episcopal vestments (note 289), and that the gloves (which had been worn for convenience, especially in Gaul and Germany, from very remote times) are also now raised to the same dignity.

XXXVIII.

INNOCENTIUS III. PAPA.²⁹⁷

VESTMENTS OF THE LAW AND OF THE GOSPEL.

DE SACRO²⁹⁸ ALTARIS MYSTERIO, LIB. I.

[*In the 9th chapter of this Treatise the Author had spoken of the points of resemblance, and those of difference, in the offices of Bishop and of Presbyter. In the 10th and following chapters he pursues this subject in its application to the distinctions of ministering dress. He writes as follows*]:

THE SIX VESTMENTS WORN BY PRESBYTERS.

Hæc autem communitas et specialitas potestatum inter Episcopos et Presbyteros ipso numero communium et specialium vestium designatur. Sex autem sunt indumenta communia Episcopis et Presbyteris: videlicet Amictus, Alba, Cingulum, Stola, Manipulus et Planeta.²⁹⁹ Quia nimirum sex sunt in quibus communis Episcoporum et Presbyterorum potestas consistit, videlicet catechizare, baptizare, prædicare, conficere,³⁰⁰ solvere et ligare.

THE NINE VESTMENTS WORN BY BISHOPS ONLY.

Novem autem sunt ornamenta Pontificum specialia: videlicet, Ca-

²⁹⁷ "Innocentius III. natione Campanus, patria Anagninus . . . a Clemente III. in cardinalium album cooptatus. Anno 1198 die 8 Januarii Pontifex Romanus electus est, annos natus 37. . . Anno 1215 generale Concilium Lateranum celebravit, in quo monstrosum Transubstantiationis figmentum inter fidei articulos reposuit."—*Cave, Hist. Lit.* vol. ii.

²⁹⁸ The text is that of the *Opera D. Inno-*

centii Pont. Max., published at Cologne in 1552.

²⁹⁹ He uses here the older name for the vestment, commonly known as the casula or "chafuble."

³⁰⁰ *Conficere*. The word ordinarily used by Western writers with the meaning "to consecrate" the holy elements, chrisin, etc.

ligæ, Sandalia, Succinctorium,³⁰¹ Tunica, Dalmatica, Mitra et Chirothecæ, Annulus et Baculus. Quia munia novem sunt in quibus specialis Episcoporum potestas consistit, videlicet clericos ordinare, Virgines benedicere, Pontifices consecrare, manus imponere, Basilicas dedicare, degradandos deponere, synodos celebrare, Chrisma conficere [Note 300], vestes et vasa consecrare.

THE PALLIUM, BY WHOM WORN.

Pallium autem Metropolitanorum et Primatum et Patriarcharum est proprium, ut scilicet per illud a cæteris Episcopis discernantur, et privilegiatam obtineant dignitatem. Hoc ergo tam in novo quam in veteri testamento legitur constitutum ut Pontifices præter communes vestes habeant speciales. Sed ibi erant quattuor communes et quattuor speciales, hic autem sex sunt communes, novem autem speciales. Id enim mystica ratio postulabat. Nam illæ datæ sunt carnalibus et mundanis: hæ autem datæ sunt spiritualibus et perfectis. Quaternarius enim convenit carni propter quattuor humores, et Mundo propter quattuor elementa. Senarius autem perfectis, quia numerus est perfectus, qui redditur suis partibus aggregatis.³⁰² Unde sexto die perfecit Deus cælum et terram et omnem ornatum eorum. Novenarius spiritualibus, quia novem sunt ordines qui secundum prophetam per ix species lapidum designantur. Quindecim ergo sunt ornamenta pontificis [note 45, p. 26] quindecim gradus virtutum ipso numero designantia, quos per quindecim Cantica graduum Psalmista distinxit. Vestes enim sacerdotales virtutes significant, quibus debent sacerdotes ornari, secundum illud propheticum: *Sacerdotes tui induantur iustitia, et sancti tui exultent.*

[In the chapters immediately following (Cap. 11 to 32), the Writer describes in detail the Levitical Vestments, and states what he believes to be their mystical significance. This done, he proceeds to speak of the Vestments of Christian Ministry, explaining their symbolism under two aspects, first in respect of Christ the true High-priest, and secondly in respect of those who are members of Christ here on earth.]

³⁰¹ Succinctorium. Compare note 313, p. 153 and Durandus there quoted.

³⁰² Durandus, who transfers much of this treatise word for word into his own pages, and this about a "perfect number" amongst the rest,

adds by way of explanation, "*Nam cum unum duo et tres dicuntur, senarius numerus impletur: vel quia in tribus partibus dividitur, id est, in sexta tertia et dimidia, videlicet in uno, duobus, et tribus.*"—Rat. D. O. Lib. iii.

CAP. 33. CHRISTIAN VESTMENTS GENERALLY.

Vestes autem evangelici sacerdotis aliud designant in Capite aliud figurant in Membris. Nam et Caput et Membra sacerdotis nomine nuncupantur. Ad Caput enim dicit Psalmographus : *Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech*. Ad Membra vero dicit Apostolus : *Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, populus acquisitionis*. Prius ergo exponenda sunt earum mysteria juxta quod Capiti congruunt, ac demum secundum quod Membris conveniunt.

CAP. 35. OF THE VESTMENTS IN RESPECT OF CHRIST.

Pontifex ergo Altaris officio Capitis sui Christi, cujus membrum est, repræsentans personam, dum pedibus assumit sandalia, illud incarnationis Dominicæ insinuat calceamentum de quo Dominus inquit in Psalmo : *In Idumæam extendam calceamentum meum*, id est, in gentibus notam faciam incarnationem meam. Venit enim ad nos calceata Divinitas, ut pro nobis Dei filius sacerdotio fungeretur. Per ligulas quibus ipsa pedibus sandalia confringuntur illud idem accipimus quod per corrigiam calceamenti Joannes Baptista significavit, cum ait : *Cujus non sum dignus corrigiam calceamenti solvere*. Unionem ergo ineffabilem, copulamque indissolubilem, quibus Verbi Divinitas se carni nostræ conjunxit, per sandaliorum corrigias intelligimus. Mediantibus vero caligis pedes sandaliis junguntur, quoniam anima mediante carni Divinitas est unita. Sicut enim pes corpus sustentat, ita Divinitas mundum gubernat. Unde ait Psalmista : *Adorate scabellum pedum ejus, quoniam sanctum est* (Ps. xcvi.).

CAP. 35. THE AMICE.

Amictus autem, quo sacerdos caput³⁰³ suum obnubit, illud significat quod in Apocalypsi describitur, Angelum Dei fortem descendisse de cælo amictum nube (Rev. x.). Et in Esaia : *Ecce Dominus*

³⁰³ *Amictus quo caput obnubit*. He alludes, apparently, to the mode of putting on the amice referred to in note 178, p. 96. Hence,

too, the allusion in Durandus : *Amictus, pro galea, caput contegit*.—*Rat. Div. Off.* Cap. i. And more to the same effect in Cap. 2.

ascendet super nubem candidam. Veniens autem ad salvationem mundi Dei Filius, magni consilii Angelus, amictus est nube dum divinitatem abscondit in carne. Nam caput viri Christus, caput Christi Deus. Hoc ergo carnis latibulum amictus sacerdotis significat. Quod per illam syndonem expressius designatur, qua summus Pontifex³⁰⁴ caput obducit. Et pulchre quidem quod per calceamentum pedum hoc ipsum per amictum capitis designatur, quia divinitas in carne latuit et per carnem innotuit. Nam cum notus esset in Judæa Deus, et in Israel magnum nomen ejus, in Idumæam extendit calceamentum suum, et ante conspectum gentium revelavit justitiam suam.

CAP. 36. THE ALB.

Alba lineum vestimentum longissime distans a tunicis pelliceis quæ de mortuis animalibus [Note 30, p. 20] fiunt, quibus Adam vestitus est post peccatum, novitatem vitæ significat, quam Christus et habuit et docuit et tribuit in baptismo, de qua dicit Apostolus: *Exuite veterem hominem cum actibus suis, et induite novum hominem qui secundum Deum creatus est.* Nam et in transfiguratione resplenduit facies ejus sicut sol, et vestimenta ejus sunt facta alba sicut nix. Semper enim vestimenta Christi munda fuerunt et candida, quia peccatum non fecit, nec inventus est dolus in lingua ejus.

CAP. 37. THE GIRDLE.

Zona sacerdotalis illud significat quod Joannes Apostolus ait: *Conversus vidi similem filio hominis præcinctum ad mamillas zona aurea.* Per zonam auream perfecta Christi charitas designatur: quam dicit

³⁰⁴ By "*summus Pontifex*" is here meant the Pope, more exactly described as *Romanus Pontifex* in Cap. 33 below, where see more concerning the "*orale*" which is the *syndon* or vestment of fine linen here referred to. The title, *Pontifex Maximus*, which is now the official title of the Bishop of Rome, nowhere occurs in the writings of Innocent III. himself, as far as I have observed. The heading of Sermo II. "*In consecratione Pontificis Maximi*," so given in the Cologne edition of 1552, is of course an editorial heading only, and by other Roman writers (as e.g. Floro-

vanti), is quoted as *De consecratione summi Pontificis*. The earliest medal on which this later title of *Pontifex Maximus* appears, is one of Martin V. [MARTINVS. V. COLUMNNA. PONTIFEX. MAXIMVS.] *sed.* 1417-1413; the earliest coin, one of Paul II. (1464-1421), struck at Avignon [PAVLVS PP. II. PONT. MAX. A. I.] These are represented in a work, now of great rarity, the *Antiquiores Pontificum Romanorum Denarii, studio et cura Benedicti Florovantis*. 4to, Rome, 1734. For the earlier history of the word *Pontifex*, see note 45, p. 26.

Apostolus supereminentem scientiæ charitatem Christi, ferventem in corde, radiantem in opere. Cujus succinctorium ³⁰⁵ illud significat quod Esaïas de Christo loquens prædixit (Esa. xi.): *Erit justitia cingulum lumborum ejus, et fides cinctorium renum ejus.* (Pf. l.): *Nam justus Dominus, et justitias dilexit, æquitatem vidit vultus ejus.* (Pf. cxliv.): *Fidelis Dominus in omnibus verbis suis, et sanctus in omnibus operibus suis.* Duæ summitates illius duæ sunt partes naturalis justitiæ, quam Christus et fecit et docuit: *Quod tibi vis non fieri, alteri ne feceris; sed quæcunque vultis ut faciant vobis homines, et vos facite illis.*

CAP. 38. THE STOLE.

Stola, quæ super amictum collo sacerdotis incumbit, obedientiam et servitutem significat, quam Dominus omnium propter salutem servorum subivit (Phil. ii.): *Nam cum in forma Dei esset non rapinam arbitratus est esse se æqualem Deo. Exinanivit enim seipsum, formam servi accipiens, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem Crucis.* Cautam quippe mortalitatis nec contraxit origine, nec commisit in opere, quia quod non rapuit hoc exoluit [*fort. exsolvit*]. Dedit enim illi calicem pater, non judex; amore, non ira; voluntate, non necessitate; gratia, non vindicta. Hic est ille Jacob qui parens præcepto patris Isaac, et consilio matris suæ Rebeckæ, servivit Laban, ut Rachael et Lyam duceret in conjugium.

CAP. 39. THE (SECOND) TUNIC.

Tunica poderis, quæ hyacinthini coloris erat in veteri sacerdotio, tintinnabulis et Malis Punicis ab inferiori parte pendentibus, ut Pontifex totus vocalis incederet, cælestem Christi doctrinam insinuat. Cujus notitiam habuerunt homines quibus Deus per prophetam ait (Esa. xl.): *In montem excelsum ascende tu qui evangelizas Sion.* Præcipue tamen hanc habuit tunicam evangelicæ textrix doctrinæ, Sapientia Dei Jesus Christus, et dedit illam Apostolis suis: *Omnia, inquit, quæcunque audiivi a Patre meo nota feci vobis.* Hanc ergo significavit illa tunica Domini quam milites scindere noluerunt, eo quod esset inconfutilis, desuper contexta per totum: damnum fore maximum existimantes si qui doctrinam evangelicam hærefibus scindere moliantur.

³⁰⁵ *Succinctorium.* See Cap. 52, quoted below, and note 313, p. 153.

CAP. 40. THE DALMATIC.

Super hanc tunicam Pontifex [note 45] vestit Dalmaticam, quæ sui orma latam et largam misericordiam Christi significat, quam ipse præ cæteris et docuit et impendit. *Estote*, inquit, *miseriordes sicut et pater vester misericors est*. Beati namque misericordes quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur. Judicium vero sine misericordia fiet ei qui non facit misericordiam, quia misericordia superexultat iudicium (Jas. ii.) : Ergo dimittite et dimittetur vobis; *sicque*, inquit, *orabitis : Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*. Hic est ergo Samaritanus ille, proximus noster, qui fecit nobiscum misericordiam, superinfundens vulneribus nostris vinum et oleum. Nam per viscera misericordiæ suæ visitavit nos Oriens ex alto. Qui non ex operibus iustitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum misericordiam suam salvos nos fecit. Qui pro peccatoribus venit ut de peccatis veniam indulgeret. *Misericordiam*, inquit, *volo, et non sacrificium*.

CAP. 41. THE GLOVES.

Chirothecæ sunt hædorum pelliculæ, quas Jacob manibus Rebecca circumdedit, ut pilosæ manus majoris ^{305 a} similitudinem exprimerent. Pellis hædi similitudo peccati quam Rebecca mater, id est, Spiritus sancti gratia, manibus veri Jacob, id est, operibus Christi circumdedit : ut similitudinem majoris, id est, prioris Adæ, Christus exprimeret. Christus enim similitudinem peccati sine peccato suscepit, ut incarnationis mysterium diabolo cclaretur. Nam ad similitudinem peccatorum efuriit, sitivit, doluit et expavit, dormivit et laboravit. Unde cum jejunasset quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus, ac postea cfuriisset, accedens ad eum diabolus eum ad similitudinem prioris Adæ tentavit. Sed quibus primum vicerat, eisdem modis victus est a secundo.

CAP. 42. THE CHASUBLE.

Cafula vel Planeta magni Sacerdotis est universalis Ecclesia, de qua dicit Apostolus : *Quotquot in Christo baptizati estis Christum induistis*. (Gal. iii.) Hoc est illud Aaron vestimentum cujus in oram descendit

^{305 a} *Majoris, i.e. of the elder brother, viz. Esau.*

unguentum : sed a capite descendit in barbam, et a barba descendit in oram. Quoniam de plenitudine Spiritus ejus nos omnes accepimus, primum Apostoli, postmodum cæteri. Quod autem casula, cum integra sit et integra, extensione manuum in anteriorem et posteriorem partem quodammodo dividitur, designat et antiquam ecclesiam, quæ passionem Christi præcessit, et novam, quæ passionem Christi subsequitur. Nam et qui præibant, et qui sequebantur, clamabant dicentes, *Osanna filio David. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.*

CAP. 43. THE MANIPLE.

Quod sacerdos manipulum portat in læva, designat quod Christus brævium³⁰⁶ obtinebat in via. Per manipulum³⁰⁷ enim præmium designatur, juxta quod legitur (Pf. cxxv., cxxvi.) : *Venientes autem venient cum exultatione, portantes manipulos suos.* Per lævam vita præfens accipitur, juxta quod scriptum est, *Læva ejus sub capite meo, et dextra illius amplexabitur me.* Christus autem simul fruebatur et merebatur. Fruebatur in patria,³⁰⁸ merebatur in via. Nam simul comprehendebat, et stadium percurrebat : quia simul erat in patria et in via. *Nemo*, inquit (Joan. iii.), *ascendit in cælum, nisi qui de cælo descendit, filius hominis qui est in cælo.*

CAP. 44. THE MITRE.

Mitra Pontificis illud significat quod Propheta loquens de Filio dicit ad Patrem (Pf. viii.) : *Gloria et honore coronasti eum, Domine, et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum.* Hoc est itaque illud Nomen (Phil. ii.) quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur,

³⁰⁶ *Brævium*, equivalent to *βραβίον*. The prize of one who conquers in the stadium. *Omnes currunt, sed unus accipit brævium.* 1 Cor. ix. 24. Compare Phil. iii. 14.

³⁰⁷ *Manipulum*. The primitive meaning of *manipulus* was a handful, and hence various secondary meanings, as, *α.* a bundle of hay, or of corn, "a sheaf" (so in the Psalm above quoted, and again in Ps. cxxvii., cxxviii.). *β.* a "handful" of men, acting together as one body, and so a "company" in the military sense of the word. [Others connect this

with what follows.] *γ.* Any other "handful," as a cloth held in the hand, in which sense *manipulus*, as a later ecclesiastical term, has taken the place of the older *mappula*. [The military sense noticed under *β.* may have arisen from the use of such a piece of cloth as a *Pennon*. Compare note 233 as to the meanings of *Fanon*.] I know of no instance of the word being used as equivalent to *præmium*, a meaning which Innocent may perhaps have inferred from this Psalm which he quotes.

³⁰⁸ *In patria*, that is, "in heaven."

cælestium terrestrium et infernorum. Nam et in aurea lamina Cydaris Pontificalis sculptum erat nomen Domini Tetragrammaton, cujus mysterium supra prælibavimus. Per Mitram ergo capitis Christi summam illam honorificentiam intelligimus, quæ propter divinitatem debetur humanitati. Nam propter pedem adoratur scabellum. *Adorate*, inquit (Pf. xcvi.), *scabellum pedum ejus, quia sanctum est*.

CAP. 45. THE STAFF.

Virga Pontificis Christi potestatem significat. De qua dicit Psalmista (Pf. xlv. 7) : *Virga recta est virga regni tui. Quia dilexisti justitiam et odisti iniquitatem, propterea te unxit Deus, Deus tuus*. Propter quod et alibi dicit : *Reges eos in virga ferrea* (Pf. ii.). Verum potestas Christi non solum virga sed et baculus est ; quia non solum corripit sed et sustentat. Unde Psalmista (Pf. xxiii.), *Virga tua et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt*.

CAP. 46. THE EPISCOPAL RING.

Annulus digiti donum Spiritus Sancti significat. Digitus enim articulatus atque distinctus Spiritum Sanctum insinuat, secundum illud (Exod. viii.) : *Digitus Dei est hic*. Et alibi : *Si ego in digito Dei ejicio dæmonia, filii vestri in quo ejiciunt?*³⁰⁹ (Luc. xi.) Annulus aureus et rotundus perfectionem donorum ejus significat, quæ fine mensura Christus accepit, quoniam in eo plenitudo divinitatis habitat corporaliter. Nam qui de cælo venit super omnes est. Cui Deus non dedit Spiritum ad mensuram : *Super quem videris Spiritum*, inquit (Joan. i.), *descendentem et manentem, hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu Sancto*. Nam (Esa. xi.) *requiescit super eum Spiritus sapientiæ et intellectus*, etc. Ipse vero secundum differentes donationes distribuit : *Alii*, secundum Apostolum (1 Cor. xii.), *dans sermonem scientiæ, alii gratiam sanitatum, alii operationem virtutum*, etc. Quod et visibilis pontifex imitatur, alios in Ecclesia constituens Sacerdotes, alios Diaconos, alios Subdiaconos, et hujusmodi.

[In Cap. 47 mention is made of the five Psalms (81, 84, 85, 115,

³⁰⁹ The author evidently quotes from memory, and has taken the beginning of his quotation from one verse (ver. 20), and the conclusion from another (ver. 19).

and 129 of the Vulgate), and of certain Prayers, to be said by the Bishop when about to celebrate Mass. He then (Cap. 48, *sqq.*) proceeds with the subjects of the vestments, and enumerates them anew, declaring the spiritual significance of each in respect of them who are "members of Christ."]

CAP. 48. THE SANDALS AND STOCKINGS.³¹⁰

Inter hæc pedes pontificis, in præparatione evangelii pacis, caligis et sandaliis calceantur, quorum pulchritudinem admirabatur propheta cum diceret, *Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona*. Sandalia vero de subtus integram habent soleam, desuper autem corium fenestratum,³¹¹ quia gressus prædicatoris debent subtus esse meniti ne polluantur terrenis, secundum illud: *Excute pulverem de pedibus vestris* (Matt. x.), et sursum aperti, quatenus ad cognoscenda cælestia revelentur, secundum illud propheticum: *Revela oculos meos et considerabo mirabilia de lege tua* (Ps. cxviii.). Quod autem sandalia quibusdam locis aperta, quibusdam clausa sunt, designat quod Evangelica prædicatio nec omnibus revelari, nec omnibus debet abscondi. Sicut criptum est (Mar. iv.): *Vobis datum est nosse mysterium regni Dei, cæteris autem in parabolis*. (Matt. vii.): *Nolite sanctum dare canibus, nec margaritas spargatis ante porcos*. Prius autem caligis induitur usque ad genua protensis, ibique constrictis, quia prædicator pedibus suis rectos facere gressus, et genua debilia roborare, debet. Nam qui fecerit et docuerit, hic magnus vocabitur in regno cælorum.

[In Cap. 49 he notices the washing of the hands which forms part of the preparation. He then proceeds as follows]:

CAP. 50. THE AMICE.

Lotis itaque manibus assumit Amictum, qui super humeros circum-

³¹⁰ "Stockings." I have rendered *caligæ* by this term, as more suggestive to English readers than any other word of the real nature of this portion of the episcopal dress. Full details as to their material and ornamentation will be found in Dr. Bock (*L. G.* vol. ii. p. 2, *sqq.*).

³¹¹ *Fenestratum*, i.e. with open spaces here and there. A similar expression (*corio pertuso*)

was employed (above p. 127) by St. Ivo. Dr. Bock gives a coloured drawing of a shoe such as that here described, taken from the tomb of Archbishop Arnoldus, of Treves (12th century). In the upper leather "*find kleine durchbohrungen (foramina obtusa) ersichtlich.*" *L. G.* vol. ii. p. 14.

quaque diffunditur. Per quem operum fortitudo significatur. Humeri quippe [note 35] fortes sunt ad opera peragenda, secundum illud Patriarchæ Jacob (Gen. xlix.): *Supposuit humerum ad portandum, et factus est tributis serviens*. Duo vatculi quibus ante pectus ligatur signant intentionem et finem quibus informandum est opus, ne fiat in fermento malitiæ et nequitiae, sed in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis. Sacerdos enim non debet otiosus existere, sed bonis operibus insistere et insudare, secundum quod Apostolus ait ad Timotheum: *Labora sicut bonus miles Jesu Christi*.

CAP. 51. THE ALB.

Alba membris corporis convenienter aptata nihil superfluum aut dissolutum in vita sacerdotis esse debere demonstrat. Hæc ob speciem candoris designat munditiam, secundum quod legitur (Eccl. ix.): *Omni tempore vestimenta tua sint candida*. Fit autem de bysso vel de lino. Propter quod scriptum est (Apoc. xix.): *Byssum* [*Leg. byssinum*] *sunt justificationes sanctorum*. Sicut enim byssus vel linum candorem, quem ex natura non habet, multis tunctionibus attritum per artem acquirit, sic et hominis caro munditiam, quam non obtinet per naturam, multis macerationibus castigata sortitur per gratiam. Unde sacerdos, secundum Apostolum, castigat corpus suum et in servitutem redigit, ne forte quum aliis prædicaverit ipse reprobus fiat. Hæc vestis in veteri sacerdotio stricta [note 101] fuisse describitur, propter spiritum servitutis in timore. In novo larga est, propter spiritum adoptionis in libertate. Quod autem Aurifrigium³¹² habet, et gemmata est in diversis locis, et variis operibus ad decorem, illud insinuat quod Propheta dicit in Psalmo (Ps. xlv.): *Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate*.

CAP. 52. THE GIRDLE AND UNDER-GIRDLE.

Debet igitur Alba circa lumbos zona præcingi, ut castitas sacerdotis nullis incentivorum stimulis dissolvatur. Unde: *Sint lumbi vestri præcincti, et lucernæ ardentes in manibus vestris* (Luc. xii.). In lumbis

³¹² *Aurifrigium*, aliter *aurifrisia*, whence the Fr. *Orfraie*, Eng. *Orfrey*, an ornamented band | attached to the edge, or other portion, of a vestment.

enim luxuria dominatur. Sic Dominus loquens de diabolo manifestat (Job. xl.): *Virtus ejus in lumbis ejus, et fortitudo ejus in umbilico ventris sui*. Debent ergo lumbi præcingi per continentiam. Debet et subcingi³¹³ per abstinenciam, quoniam hoc genus dæmonii non ejicitur nisi in oratione et jejuniis. Hinc etiam Apostolus ait (Eph. vi.): *State succincti lumbos in veritate*.

CAP. 53. SPECIAL INSIGNIA OF THE BISHOP OF ROME.

Romanus autem pontifex post Albam et Cingulum assumit Orale,³¹⁴ quod circa caput involvit, et replicat super humeros, legalis Pontificis ordinem sequens, qui post lineam strictam et zonam induebatur Ephod, id est Superhumeralis, cujus locum [Note 253] modo tenet Amictus. Et quia signo Crucis³¹⁵ auri lamina cessit, pro³¹⁶ lamina quam Pontifex gerebat in fronte, Pontifex iste³¹⁷ crucem gerit in pectore. Nam mysticum, quod in quattuor litteris auri lamina continebat, in quattuor partibus forma crucis explicuit. Juxta quod inquit Apostolus (Eph. iii.): *Ut comprehendatis cum omnibus sanctis quæ sit longitudo et latitudo et sublimitas et profundum*. Ideoque Romanus Pontifex crucem quandam insertam catenulis, a collo suspensam, sibi statuit ante pectus, ut sacra-

³¹³ *Subcingere* is to gird "up" (such being frequently the meaning of *sub* in composition). And the same girdle may be said both *præcingere*, in respect of its girding in the tunic in "front" of which it is fastened, and *subcingere* in respect of its use in gathering up (with a view to active exertion) a garment, which, if worn at its full length, would impede all freedom of movement. When, however, the *zona* and the *succinctorium* are distinguished (as by Innocent himself, *supra*, pp. 143, 144), it seems that by the latter term we must understand the long ends of the girdle which hung down from the waist nearly to the feet. This will explain the language of Durandus (R. D. O. iii. Cap. 4) speaking of the *subcingulum* as double. *A sinistro Pontificis latere duplex dependit subcingulum*. [None of the modern Liturgical works which I have consulted notice the word *succinctorium*.]

³¹⁴ *Orale*. In Ciampini (Vet. Mon. i. p. 239) an engraving is given in which a head-dress answering to this description may be seen, on a figure which probably represents Celestine III. (*Ibid.* 1191-1198). This pecu-

liar vestment, retained in the 13th Century by the Roman bishop only, was probably a relic of those earlier times when the "mitre" was what the name *μίτρα* originally implied, a "cap" made of linen, of wool, or of silk, utterly unlike the modern mitre.

³¹⁵ This wearing of a cross (generally containing relics) as an ornament, attached to the neck by a chain, is spoken of here as peculiar to the Bishop of Rome. In Roman theory it was so, but not in fact, even in the Western church. Numerous instances to the contrary are mentioned by Dr. Bock, who has also engraved several ancient "Pectoral Crosses," as they are called, and among them one sent as a present by Gregory the Great to the Lombard Queen Theodolinda. In the East these *σταυροὶ ἱεροδραμοὶ* were worn both as Imperial and as Episcopal ornaments. At the Council of Florence, no Western bishops were allowed to wear their pectoral crosses in presence of the Pope. The Greeks maintained and exercised their right to do so. [See Bock, *L. G.* vol. ii. p. 213, *seqq.*]

mentum quod ille tunc præferebat in fronte, hic autem recondat in pectore: ³⁸ *Nam corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem.*

CAP. 54. THE STOLE.

Post hæc Stolum,⁵⁰ quæ alio modo vocatur Orarium, super collum sibi sacerdos imponit, ut jugum Domini se suscepisse significet; quæ a collo per anteriora descendens dextrum et sinistrum latus adornat, quia per arma justitiæ a dextris et a sinistris, id est, in prosperis et adversis, sacerdos debet esse munitus. Stola quippe significat sapientiam vel patientiam, de qua scriptum habetur: *Patientia vobis necessaria est ut reportetis promissiones* (Heb. x.). Et iterum (Luc. xxi.): *In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras.* Hinc est ergo quod Stola cum Zona nexibus quibusdam colligatur, quia virtutes virtutibus sociantur, ne aliquo tentationis moveantur impulsu. Debet autem sacerdos secundum decretum Braccharenfis Concilii³¹⁶ de uno eodemque orario cervicem pariter et utrumque humerum premens, signum crucis in pectore suo præparare. Si quis autem aliter egerit excommunicationi debitæ subiacebit. Nisi forte quis dixerit hoc decretum per contrariam Ecclesiæ Romanæ³¹⁷ consuetudinem abrogatum.

CAP. 55. THE TUNIC.

Deinde Pontifex induit Tunicam poderem, id est, talarem, significantem perseverantiam. Unde Joseph inter fratres suos talarem tunicam habuisse describitur. Cum vero cæteræ virtutes currant in stadio, perseverantia tamen accipit bravium [Note 306]: quoniam qui perseveraverit usque in finem hic salvus erit. Unde præcipitur (Apoc. ii.): *Esto fidelis usque ad mortem et dabo tibi coronam vitæ.* Habebat autem hæc vestis in veteri sacerdotio pro fimbriis mala Punica cum tintinabulis aureis, quorum supra mysterium exposuimus.

CAP. 56. THE DALMATIC.

Super hanc tunicam episcopus vestit Dalmaticam,³¹ sic dictam eo quod in Dalmatia fuit reperta. Quæ sui forma figurat largitatem, quia

³¹⁶ The third Council of Bracara (now Braga, in Portugal) held A.D. 572.

³¹⁷ Durandus (R. D. O. iii. v.) transfers the greater part of this chapter almost word

for word into his own pages, but makes one important change, "*per contrariam generalis Ecclesiæ consuetudinem.*"

largas habet manicas et protenfas. Unde secundum Apostolum (1 Tim. iii.): *Oportet episcopum non esse turpis lucri cupidum sed hospitalem.* Non ergo habeat manum ad dandum collectam, et ad recipiendum porrectam, sed illud efficiat quod Propheta suadet (Esa. lviii.): *Frangere esurienti panem tuum et egenos vagosque duc in domum tuam. Quum videris nudum operi eum, et carnem tuam ne despexeris.* Ob hoc forte specialiter utuntur Diaconi Dalmaticis, quod principaliter electi sunt ab apostolis ut mensis ex officio ministrarent. Debet autem Dalmatica habere duas lineas coccineas hinc inde, ante et retro, a summo usque deorsum, ut pontifex habeat honorem charitatis,^{317 a} ad Deum et ad proximum, in prosperis et adversis, juxta Veteris et Novi Testamenti præceptum, quod est: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et proximum tuum sicut teipsum.* Unde Joannes: *Charissimi non novum mandatum scribo vobis sed mandatum vetus, quod habuistis ab initio. Atque iterum mandatum novum scribo vobis, etc.* (1 Joan. ii.). In sinistro quoque latere Dalmatica fimbrias habere solet, id est, sollicitudines activæ vitæ signantes, quas Episcopus debet habere pro subditis. Juxta quod dicit apostolus (1 Cor. xi.): *Præter illa quæ extrinsecus sunt, instantia mea quotidiana, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum.*

CAP. 57. THE GLOVES.

Quia vero plerique bonum opus, quod faciunt, inani favore corumpunt, statim Episcopus manus operit chirothecis,^{290 a} ut nesciat sinistra sua quid faciat dextra sua. Per chirothecam ergo congrua cautela designatur, quæ sic facit opus in publico quod intentionem continet in occulto. Nam etsi Dominus dixerit: *Luceat lux vestra coram hominibus ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum qui in cælis est,* propter quod chirotheca circulum aureum desuper habet, ipse tamen præcepit, *Attendite ne justitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus, ut videamini ab iis. Alioquin mercedem non habebitis apud Patrem vestrum qui in cælis est.*

CAP. 58. THE CHASUBLE.

Postremo super omnes vestes induit Casulam¹³⁰ vel Planetam,²⁹⁹ quæ significat Charitatem [Note 261.]. Charitas enim operit multitudinem

^{317 a} He connects "charity" with the colour | and Gregory the Great, quoted at p. 60 (see of scarlet, as do Alcuin (see note 235, p. 113), note 107, in fin.).

peccatorum, de qua dicit Apostolus (1 Cor. xiii.): *Adbuc excellentiorem viam nobis demonstro. Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, charitatem autem non habuero, factus sum velut æs sonans et cymbalum tinniens.* Et hæc est vestis nuptialis, de qua loquitur Dominus in Evangelio: *Amice, quomodo hic intraſti, non habens vestem nuptialem?* Quod autem Amictus¹⁷⁸ super os Planetæ revolvitur, innuit quod omne opus bonum debet ad charitatem referri. Nam finis præcepti Charitas est, de corde puro, conscientia bona, et fide non ficta. Quod autem extensione manuum in anteriorem et posteriorem partem dividitur, significat duo brachia charitatis ad Deum scilicet et ad proximum. *Diliges, inquit, Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et proximum sicut teipsum.* In his duobus mandatis pendet tota Lex et Prophetæ. Latitudo Planetæ significat latitudinem Charitatis, quæ usque ad inimicos extenditur. Unde: *Latum mandatum tuum nimis.*

CAP. 59. THE MANIPLE.

Verum quia mentibus bene compositis et divino cultui mancipatis sæpe subrepat acedia³¹⁸ quæ quodam torpore reddit animum dormientem, dicente Psalmista (Ps. cxviii.), *Dormitavit anima mea præ tædio*, in sinistra manu apponitur mappula, quæ Manipulus³⁰⁷ vel Sudarium¹⁹⁷ appellatur, qua sudorem mentis absterget, et soporem cordis excutiat, ut depulso tædio vel torpore bonis operibus diligenter invigilet. Per manipulum ergo vigilantia designatur, de qua Dominus ait: *Vigilate quia nescitis qua hora Dominus vester venturus sit.* Unde sponsa dicit in Canticis (Can. v.): *Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat.*

CAP. 60. THE MITRE.

Mitra^{190a} Pontificis scientiam utriusque Testamenti significat: nam duo cornua^{318a} duo sunt Testamenta, duæ fimbriæ spiritus et littera. Circulus aureus, qui anteriorem et posteriorem partem complectitur, indicat quod omnis scriba doctus in regno cælorum de thesauro suo nova profert et vetera. Caveat ergo diligenter episcopus ne prius velit esse magister quam norit esse discipulus, ne si cæcus cæcum duxerit ambo in foveam cadant. Scriptum est enim in Propheta: *Quia tu scientiam repulisti ego te repellam, ne sacerdotio fungaris mihi.* (Ose. iv.)

³¹⁸ In the text before me *acidia*. The true reading is supplied by a comparison with St. Ivo Carnotensis, quoted at p. 127, from whom these words are taken *verbatim*. On

acidia see note 262, in *loc*.

^{318a} For details concerning the Mitre, see Bock, *L. G.* ii. 164.

CAP. 61. THE RING.

Annulus est fidei sacramentum, in quo Christus sponsam suam sanctam Ecclesiam subarravit, ut ipsa de se dicere valeat, Annulo suo subarravit me Dominus meus, id est, Christus. Cujus custodes et pædagogi sunt episcopi et prælati, annulum pro signo ferentes in testimonium. De quibus Sponsa dicit in Canticis: *Invenierunt me vigiles qui custodiunt civitatem*. Hunc annulum dedit pater filio revertenti, secundum illud: *Date annulum in manum ejus* (Luc. xv.).

CAP. 62. THE STAFF, AND WHY IT IS NOT BORNE BY THE BISHOP OF ROME.

Baculus correptionem significat pastorem, propter quod a consecratore dicitur consecratus: *Accipe baculum pastoralitatis*. Et de quo dicit apostolus (1 Cor. iv.); *In virga veniam ad vos*. Quod autem est acutus in fine, rectus in medio, retortus in summo, designat quod pontifex debet per eam punire pigros, regere debiles, colligere vagos. Quod uno carmine versificator quidam expressit: *Collige, sustenta, stimula, vaga, morbida, lenta*.

Romanus autem Pontifex pastoralis virga non utitur, pro eo quod beatus Petrus Apostolus baculum suum³¹⁹ misit Eucharistie primo Episcopo Trevirorum, quem una cum Valerio et Materno ad prædicandum Evangelium genti Teutonicæ destinavit. Cui successit in episcopatu Maternus, qui per baculum sancti Petri de morte fuerat suscitatus. Quem baculum usque hodie cum magna veneratione Trevirensis servat ecclesia.

CAP. 63. THE PALLIUM.

Pallium,¹¹⁰ quo majores utuntur episcopi, significat disciplinam qua se ipsos et subditos Archiepiscopi debent regere. Per hanc acquiritur torques³²⁰ aurea quam legitime certantes accipiunt, de qua dicit Salo-

³¹⁹ An ancient staff (not, however, by any means of the *most* ancient type) was long preserved at Treves, and shown as the identical staff here spoken of. It is now at Limburg, and is figured by Dr. Bock (vol. ii. Pl. xxx), who out of regard for the traditions associated with it is considerate enough not to pronounce an opinion as to its real date.

³²⁰ *Torques* (a neck chain) is the term ordinarily employed to describe the circular portion of the Papal Pallium. Hence it is compared in this passage to a "chain of gold," such as in the East especially was often bestowed as a mark of special favour upon those whom kings "delighted to honour."

mon in Parabolis: *Audi, fili mi, disciplinam patris tui, et ne dimittas legem matris tuæ: ut addatur gratia capiti tuo, et torques collo tuo* (Prov. i.). Fit enim pallium de candida lana contextum, habens desuper circulum humeros constringentem, et duas lineas ab utraque parte dependentes; quattuor autem cruces purpureas, ante et retro, a dextris et a sinistris: sed a sinistris est duplex et simplex a dextris. Hæc omnia moralibus sunt imbuta mysteriis, et divinis gravida sacramentis. Nam ut scriptura testatur (Eccl. i.): *In thesauris sapientiæ significatio disciplinæ*. In lana quippe notatur asperitas, in candore benignitatis (*Leg. benignitas*) designatur. Nam ecclesiastica disciplina contra rebelles et obstinatos severitatem exercet, sed erga pœnitentes et humiles exhibet pietatem.³²¹ Propter quod de lana non cujuslibet animalis sed ovis tantum efficitur, quæ mansuetum est animal. Unde Propheta: *Tanquam ovis ad occisionem ductus est, et quasi agnus coram tondente is obmutovit, et non operuit os suum*. Hinc est quod illius femivivi vulneribus, quem Samaritanus duxit in stabulum, et vinum adhibet et oleum; ut per vinum mordeantur vulnera, et per oleum foveantur; quatenus qui sanandis vulneribus præest in vino morsum severitatis adhibeat, in oleo mollitiem pietatis. Hoc nimirum et per arcam tabernaculi designatur, in qua cum tabulis virga continetur et manna. Quoniam in mente rectoris cum scripturæ scientia debet esse virga districtiois, et manna dulcedinis, ut severitas immoderate non sæviat, et pietas³²¹ plus quam expedit non indulgeat. Circulus pallii, per quem humeri³⁵ constringuntur, est timor Domini, per quem opera³⁵ coercentur, ne vel ad illicita defluant, vel ad superflua relaxentur. Quoniam disciplina sinistram cohibet ab illicitis formidine pœnæ, dexteram vero temperat a superfluis amore justitiæ. Beatus ergo vir qui semper est pavidus. Nam juxta sententiam Sapientis (Eccl. i.): *Timor Domini peccatum repellit, qui vero sine timore existit justificari non poterit*. Hinc est ergo quod Pallium et ante pectus et super humeros frequenter aptatur.³²² Quattuor cruces purpuræ sunt quattuor virtutes politicæ, Justitia, Fortitudo, Prudentia, Temperantia; quæ, nisi Crucis Christi sanguine purpurentur, frustra sibi virtutis nomen usurpant, et ad veram beatitudinis gloriam non perducunt. Unde Dominus inquit Apostolis

³²¹ *Pietas*, though properly used of the mingled love and reverence of children to parents (and hence of subjects to their prince, or of men to God), is occasionally employed in speaking of the tender love of parents towards their children. Such, nearly, is its im-

plication here, "gentleness."

³²² He alludes to the three pins of gold (*acus* or *spinæ*), by which, as he says below, the pallium was formerly fastened to the chasuble. They are now appended to the pallium by loops of silk. Bock, *L. G.* ii. p. 191.

(Matt. v.): *Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plusquam Scribarum et Phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum celorum.* Hæc est purpurea regis tunica tincta [*al. juncta al. vincta*] canalibus quam Salomon³²³ commemorat in Canticis Canticorum. Is ergo qui gloria Pallii decoratur, si cupit esse quod dicitur, in anteriori parte debet habere justitiam, ut reddat unicuique quod suum est; prudentiam in posteriori, ut caveat quod unicuique nocivum est; fortitudinem a sinistris, ut eum adversa non deprimant; temperantiam a dextris, ut eum prospera non extolant. Duæ lineæ, quarum una post dorsum et altera progreditur ante pectus, activam et contemplativam vitam significant. Quas ita debet exercere Prælatus ut exemplo Moysi (*leg. Moysis*) nunc in montem ascendat, et ibi philosophetur cum Domino; nunc ad castra descendat, et ibi necessitatibus immineat populorum; provisorius attentius ut, quum sæpe se dederit aliis, interdum se sibi restituat; quatenus et quum (*Leg. cum*) Martha circa frequens satagat ministerium, et quum (*leg. cum*) Maria verbum audiat Salvatoris. Utraque tamen gravat³²⁴ inferius, quia corpus quod corrumpitur³²⁵ aggravat animam, et deprimit terrena inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem. Quapropter et Pallium duplex est in sinistra sed simplex in dextra. Quia vita præsens, quæ per sinistram accipitur, multis est subiecta molestiis, sed vita futura quæ per dexteram designatur in una semper collecta quiete est. Quod Veritas Ipsa designavit, cum intulit, *Martha, Martha, sollicita es, et turbaris erga plurima. Porro unum est necessarium. Maria optimam partem elegit, quæ non auferetur ab ea in æternum.* Pallium duplex est in sinistro, quatenus ad tolerandas vitæ præsentis molestias Prælatus fortis existat. Simplex in dextra, quatenus ad obtinendam vitæ futuræ quietem toto suspiret affectu; juxta verbum Psalmistæ, dicentis: *Unam petii a Domino, hanc requiram, ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus vitæ meæ.* Tres autem acus³²² quæ pallio infiguntur ante pectus super humerum et post tergum, designant compassionem proximi, administrationem officii, distinctionemque judicii. Quarum prima pungit animum per dolorem, secunda per laborem, tertia per terrorem. Prima

³²³ Cant. vii. 5, *Comæ capitis tui, sicut purpurea regis vincta canalibus.*

³²⁴ *Utraque tamen gravat, &c.* *Utraque* refers directly to *linea*, indirectly to *vita*. And in saying that "both one and the other is burdensome" (*utroque gravat*), he refers probably to the leaden weight attached to each extremity of the pallium with a view to make

it hang properly. For this last see Bock, L. G. vol. ii. p. 193.

³²⁵ *Quod corrumpitur*, i.e. which is "subject to corruption." Compare the use of the present participle *τῶν ἀποθνήσκόντων* (equivalent to "subject unto death") in the passage of Philo, quoted at p. 8.

pungebat Apostolum cum dicebat: *Quis infirmatur et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?* Secunda est: *Præter illa quæ extrinsecus sunt instantia mea quotidiana, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum.* Tertia: *Si iustus vix salvabitur, impius et peccator ubi parebunt?* Super dextrum humerum non infigitur acus, quoniam in æterna quiete nullus est afflictionis aculeus, nullus stimulus punctio- nis. Absterget enim Deus omnem lacrymam ab oculis sanctorum, et jam non erit amplius neque luctus, nec clamor, sed nec ullus dolor, quoniam priora transierunt. Acus est aurea, sed inferius est acuta, et superius rotunda, lapidem continens preciosum, quia nimirum bonus pastor propter curam ovium in terris affligitur, sed in cælis æter- naliter coronabitur, ubi preciosam illam margaritam habebit, de qua Dominus ait in Evangelio: *Simile est regnum cælorum homini negociatori quærenti bonas margaritas. Inventa autem una preciosa margarita, abiit et vendidit omnia quæ habuit, et emit eam.* Dicitur autem Pallium plenitudo pontificalis officii, quoniam in ipso et cum ipso confertur pontificalis officii plenitudo. Nam antequam Metropolitanus pallio decoretur, non debet clericos ordinare, pontifices consecrare, vel eccle- sias dedicare, nec Archiepiscopus appellari.

CAP. 64. PRACTICAL EXHORTATION.

Ista sunt arma quæ Pontifex debet induere contra spirituales ne- quitias pugnaturus. Nam ut inquit apostolus, *Arma militiæ nostræ non sunt carnalia, sed ad destructionem munitionum potentia Deo* (2 Cor. x.). De quibus idem Apostolus in alia dicit Epistola (Eph. vi.): *Induite vos armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli. State ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate, et induti lorica[m] justitiæ, et calceati pedes in præparationem Evangelii pacis: in omnibus sumentes scutum Fidei, quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere: et galeam salutis assumite et gladium Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei.* Provideat ergo diligenter episcopus, et attendat sacerdos studiose, ut signum sine significato non ferat, ut vestem sine virtute non portet, ne forte similis sit sepulchro de foris dealbato, intus autem omni pleno spurcitio. Quis- quis autem sacris indumentis ornatur et honestis moribus non induitur, quanto venerabilior apparet hominibus, tanto indignior redditur apud Deum. Pontificalem itaque gloriam jam honor non commendat ves- tium, sed splendor animarum. Quoniam et illa quæ quondam carna-

libus blandiebantur obtutibus ea potius quæ in ipsis erant intelligenda poscebant: ut quicquid illa velamina in fulgore auri, et in nitore gemmarum, et in multimoda operis varietate signabant, hoc jam in moribus actibusque clarescat. Quod et apud veteres reverentiam ipsæ significationum species obtinent, et apud nos certiora sint experimenta rerum quam ænigmata figurarum. Tunc enim valles abundant frumento, quum arietes ovium sunt induti.

CAP. 65. THE FOUR SACRED COLOURS.

Quattuor autem sunt principales colores, quibus secundum proprietates dierum sacras vestes ecclesia Romana distinguit, Albus, Rubeus, Niger, et Viridis. Nam et in legalibus indumentis quattuor colores fuisse leguntur, Byssus,³²⁶ et Purpura, Hyacinthus, et Coccus. Albis induitur vestimentis in festivitativibus Confessorum et Virginum; Rubeis in solemnitatibus Apostolorum et Martyrum. Hinc sponsa dicit in Canticis (cap. 5), *Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus, electus ex millibus*. Candidus in confessoribus et virginibus, rubicundus in martyribus et apostolis. Hi et illi sunt flores rosarum et lilia convallium. Albis igitur indumentis utendum est in festivitativibus Confessorum et Virginum propter integritatem et innocentiam. *Nam candidi facti sunt Nazaræi ejus, et ambulant semper cum eo in albis. Virgines enim sunt, et sequuntur Agnum quocumque ierit.* Propter eam causam utendum est albis in solemnitatibus sequentibus, scilicet in solemnitatibus angelorum, de quorum nitore Dominus ait ad Luciferum: *Ubi eras cum me laudarent astra matutina?* (Job, xxxviii.) In nativitate Salvatoris et Præcursoris^{326 a} quoniam uterque natus est mundus, id est carens originali peccato. Ascendit enim Dominus super nubem levem, id est sumpsit carnem a peccatis immunem, et intravit Ægyptum, id est, venit in mundum, juxta quod Angelus ait ad virginem: *Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi. Ideoque quod nascetur ex te sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei.* Joannes autem, etsi fuit conceptus in peccato, fuit tamen sanctificatus in utero, secundum illud propheticum: *Antequam exires de valva sanctificavi te* (Hier. i.). Nam et angelus ait ad Zachariam: *Spiritu sancto replebitur adhuc ex utero matris suæ.* In Epiphania, propter splendorem stellæ, quæ Magos

³²⁶ Byssus is here spoken of as a colour, i.e. white. See note 5 (γ).

^{326 a} The forerunner, i.e. John the Baptist.

adduxit, secundum illud Propheticum: *Et ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo et reges in splendore ortus tui* (Esa. xl.). In Hypopanti,³²⁷ propter puritatem Mariæ, quæ juxta Canticum Simeonis obtulit lumen ad revelationem gentium, et gloriam plebis suæ Israel. In cœna Domini,³²⁸ propter confectionem Chrismatis, quod ad mundationem animæ consecratur. Nam et evangelica lectio munditiam principaliter in illa sollemnitate commendat. *Qui lotus est*, inquit, *non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet, sed est mundus totus* (Joan. xiii.) Et iterum: *Si non laveris te non habebis partem mecum*. In Resurrectione, propter angelum testem et nuncium resurrectionis, qui apparuit stola candida coopertus: de quo dicit Matthæus, quod erat aspectus ejus sicut fulgur, et vestimentum ejus sicut nix. In Ascensione, propter nubem candidam in qua Christus ascendit. Nam et duo viri steterunt juxta illos in vestibus albis, qui et dixerunt, *Viri Galilei, quid statis aspicientes in cælum, etc.* Illud autem non otiose notandum est, quod licet in consecratione pontificis talibus indumentis sit utendum, consecrantibus scilicet et ministris (nam consecrandus semper albis utitur) qualia secundum proprietatem diei conveniunt, in dedicatione tamen Ecclesiæ semper utendum est albis, quocunque dierum dedicatio celebretur. Quoniam in consecratione pontificis cantatur missa diei, sed in dedicatione Basilicæ dedicationis missa cantatur. Nam et Ecclesia virgineo nomine nuncupatur, secundum illud Apostoli: *Respondi enim vos uni Viro virginem castam exhibere Christo*. De qua sponsus dicit in Canticis: *Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te. Veni de Libano, sponsa mea, veni de Libano, veni*.

Rubeis autem utendum est indumentis in sollemnitatibus Apostolorum et Martyrum, propter sanguinem passionis, quem pro Christo fuderunt. Nam ipsi sunt qui venerunt ex magna tribulatione, et laverunt stolas suas in sanguine Agni. In Festo Crucis, de qua Christus pro nobis sanguinem suum fudit. Unde Propheta: *Quare rubrum est indumentum tuum sicut calcantium in torculari?* Vel in Festo Crucis³²⁹ melius est albis utendum, quia non Passionis sed Inventionis vel Exaltationis

³²⁷ Hypopanti (a corruption of Ὑποπάντι, or Ὑπάντι, i.e. ὑπάντησις, Salutation), one of the names by which the Feast of the Purification is designated. See Durandus, R. D. O. lib. vii. cap. 7, and Dufresne in voc.

³²⁸ Cœna Domini, i.e. Thursday in Holy Week. As to the preparation of the Chrism, or holy oil, on this day, see Belet. Div. Off. Expl. cap. 95.

³²⁹ He alludes to the *Inventio Sanctæ Crucis*. "Cruce Domini inventa ab Helena matre Constantini, per Judam, ut narrat historia, festum ejus primo celebratum est Hierosolymæ. Sed Eusebius, Papa trigessimus a B. Petro, illud postea ubique terrarum celebrari præcepit." Belet. Div. Off. Expl. cap. 125.

est Festum. In Pentecoste, propter sancti Spiritus fervorem, qui super Apostolos in linguis igneis apparuit. Nam apparuerunt illis dispersitæ linguæ tanquam ignis, seditque super singulos eorum. Unde Propheta: *Misit de cælo ignem offibus meis.* Licet autem in Apostolorum Petri et Pauli martyrio rubeis sit utendum, in Conversione tamen et Cathedra³³⁰ utendum est albis. Sicut licet in nativitate sancti Joannis albis utendum, in Decollatione tamen ipsius utendum est rubeis. Cum autem illius Festivitas celebratur qui simul est et Martyr et Virgo, martyrium præfertur virginitati, quia signum est perfectissimæ charitatis, juxta quod Veritas ait: *Majorem charitatem nemo habet quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis.* Quapropter et in commemoratione Omnium Sanctorum quidam rubeis induuntur ornamentis, alii vero, ut Curia Romana, candidis: quum non tam in eadem quam de eadem solennitate dicat Ecclesia, quod Sancti, secundum Apocalypsim Joannis, stabant in conspectu Agni, amici stolis⁵⁰ albis, et palmæ in manibus eorum.

Nigris autem indumentis utendum est in die afflictionis et abstinentiæ, pro peccatis, et pro defunctis. Ab Adventu scilicet usque ad Natalis vigiliam, et a Septuagesima usque ad sabbatum Paschæ.³³¹ Sponsa quippe dicit in Canticis: *Nigra sum sed formosa, filix Jerusalem, sicut tabernacula Cedar, sicut pellis Salomonis. Nolite me considerare quod fusca sim, quia decoloravit me sol.* In Innocentium autem die quidam nigris, alii vero rubeis, indumentis utendum esse contendunt. Illi propter tristitiam, quia vox in Rhama audita est, ploratus et ululatus multus, Rachel plorans filios suos, et noluit consolari quia non sunt. Nam propter eandem causam Cantica lætitiæ subticentur, et non in aurifrigio Mitra³³² defertur. Isti propter martyrium, quod principaliter commemorans inquit Ecclesia: *Sub throno Dei Sancti clamabant, vindica sanguinem nostrum qui effusus est, Deus noster.* Propter tristitiam ergo, quam et silentium innuit lætitiæ canticorum, Mitra quæ fertur non est aurifrigio insignita, sed propter martyrium rubeis est

³³⁰ *Cathedra*, i.e. Cathedra Petri. "De Cathedra S. Petri Ecclesia sollemnizat, quando videlicet apud Antiochiam Cathedrali honore sublimatus esse perhibetur." *Durandus*, R. D. O. lib. viii. cap. 8.

³³¹ *Sabbatum Paschæ*, i.e. Easter-Eve.

³³² *Non in aurifrigio*, &c. He means that a plain mitre is to be used without any golden or embroidered band. The later Roman

Liturgists distinguish three kinds of mitres, the Plain Mitre (*simplex*) made of linen; the Orfreyed Mitre (*Mitra aurifrigiata*, see note 312, p. 152, or *Mitra sollemnis*); and the Precious Mitre (*Mitra preciosa*), in which the inner Cap (*Mitra*, see note 288^a) is almost entirely concealed by plates made of the precious metals encrusted with jewels.

indumentis utendum. Hodie utimur violaceis : sicut in *Lætare Hierusalem*,³³³ propter lætitiā quam Aurea Rosa significat, Romanus Pontifex portat Mitram aurifrīso insignitam, sed propter abstinentiam nigris, immo violaceis utitur indumentis.

Restat ergo quod in diebus ferialibus et communibus viridibus fit indumentis utendum. Quia viridis color medius est inter albedinem et nigredinem et ruborem. Hic color exprimitur ubi dicitur (Cant. iv.) : *Cypri cum nardo, Nardus et Crocus*.

Ad hos quattuor cæteri referuntur. Ad rubeum colorem coccineus, ad nigrum violaceus, ad viridem croceus. Quamvis nonnulli rosas ad Martyres, crocum ad Confessores, lilium ad Virgines referunt.^{333 a}

³³³ He alludes to the special observances (at Rome) of Mid-Lent Sunday, when the Golden Rose is carried in solemn procession by the Pope. "In hac Dominica (4th S. in Lent) Romanus Pontifex celebraturus ad ecclesiam pergens et rediens ab eadem auream in manu. . . fert rosam. . . (*This Rose is then given to one whom the Pope desires specially to honour.*) . . . Demum ille cum multo equitatu et lætitia ingenti civitatem cum rosa circuit, figurans gaudium illius populi in civitatem Hierusalem reversi." Durandus, *R. D. O.* lib. vi. cap. 53.

^{333 a} The Vestments of the Roman Church,

with the "four Sacred Colours (p. 161) which the Roman Church assigns as proper to various festivals," are here for the first time described in their complete development. From the time of this Treatise there have been slight varieties in detail introduced from time to time, in respect of shape and ornamentation, but the "*Sacræ Vestes*" of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, proper to the Roman Church, have been accepted, as here described, to this day. [For the "Surplice," which is not mentioned by Innocent III., see *infra*, p. 166, and Index in *voc.*]

XXXIX.

DVRANDI MIMATENSIS EPISCOPI ³³⁴
 RATIONALE ³³⁵ DIVINORVM OFFICIORVM.

LIB. III. DE VESTIBUS SACRIS.

CAP. I. CHANGE IN CLERICAL DRESS IN NINTH CENTURY.

. . . Nota quod tempore Ludovici Imperatoris filii Caroli Magni, Episcopi et Clerici cingula auro texta, exquisitas vestes, et alia secularia ornamenta deposuerunt.³³⁶

EPISCOPAL VESTMENTS REGARDED AS SPIRITUAL ARMOUR.

. . . Rufus Pontifex versus Aquilonem suspiciens, quamvis versus Orientem seu versus altare, si sit magis accommodum, respicere possit, tanquam advocatus seu pugil cum hoste pugnaturus antiquo, vestibus sacris quasi armis induitur, juxta Apostolum, ut jam dicetur. Primo sandalia pro ocreis habet, ne quid maculæ vel pulveris affectionum inhæreat. Secundo Amictus pro galea [note 178, p. 94] caput contegit. Tertio Alba pro lorica totum corpus cooperit. Quarto cingulum pro arcu, subcingulum³³⁷ pro pharetra assumit: et est subcingulum illud quod dependet a cingulo, quo Stola Pontificis cum ipso

³³⁴ Durandus (Gulielmus), born in France *circ.* 1232 A.D. Bishop of Mende 1287; died 1296 A.D. The basis of the text is that of Cellier, Lugduni, MDCLXXII; a very defective one, the punctuation particularly being such as often to make nonsense of such sentences as present any difficulties of interpretation. Here, as elsewhere, I have made no alterations, except in punctuation, without notice to the reader.

³³⁵ The third book of this Treatise is entirely occupied with the subject of vestments. But it consists in great measure of large extracts from older writers, many of which have already been before the reader of the present

work. I have therefore only selected those passages which add to these older writers any thing of importance to the subject of this Treatise.

³³⁶ One effect of the restoration of an Imperial power in the West was that of restraining the tendency to extravagant sumptuousness and splendour in the secular dress of some among the Clergy. See, for example, what is said of Archbishop Ethelbert by Dr. Hook (*Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. i. p. 262).

³³⁷ See note 313, p. 153, on the word *succinctorium*, which is equivalent to the *subcingulum* of Durandus.

cingulo colligatur. Quinto, Stola collum circumdans, qua (*Leg.* quasi) hastam contra hostem vibrans. Sexto, manipulo pro clava utitur. Septimo, Cafula quasi clypeo tegitur. Manus Libro pro gladio armatur. De singulis etiam aliter dicetur infra. Hæc itaque sunt arma quibus Pontifex vel Sacerdos armari debet contra spirituales nequitias pugnaturus.

DIFFERENCE IN NUMBER BETWEEN THE VESTMENTS OF THE LAW AND OF THE GOSPEL.

. . . Quindecim ergo sunt ornamenta Pontificis . . . Sic ergo noster Pontifex ³³⁸ plura quam octo induit vestimenta quamvis Aaron non nisi octo habuisse legatur; quibus moderna succedunt. Quod ideo est quoniam oportet iustitiam nostram magis abundare quam Scribarum et Phariseorum; ut intrare possimus in regnum cælorum. Potest etiam dici quod noster Pontifex octo habet a capite usque ad pedes, exceptis vestimentis pedum et manuum; scilicet Amictum, Albam, Cingulum, et Stolum, duas Tunicas, Cafulam et Pallium, Vestimentum enim pedum potius pertinet ad nostros quam ad Aaron: quia nostris dictum est, *Euntes docete omnes gentes*, etc.

THE SURPLICE.

Denique præter præmissas vestes sacris ordinibus et ministris deputatas, est et alia quædam vestis linea, quæ Superpelliceum dicitur, quod quibuslibet servitiis altaris et sacrorum vacantes super vestes communes uti debent: prout in sequente titulo dicitur. Superpelliceum autem primo, propter sui candorem, munditiam seu puritatem castitatis designat: Juxta illud, *Omni tempore vestimenta*, id est, opera tua, *sint candida et munda*. Propter nomen vero suum carnis mortificationem figurat secundo. Dictum est enim Superpelliceum eo quod antiquitus super tunicas pellicias de pellibus mortuorum animalium factas induebatur; quod adhuc in quibusdam ecclesiis observatur, repræsentantes (*sic*) quod Adam post peccatum talibus vestitus est pelliciiis. Tertio denotat innocentiam; et ideo ante omnes alias vestes sacras sæpe induitur, quia divino cultui deputati innocentia vitæ cunctis virtutum actibus superpollere debent; juxta illud Psalmistæ, *Innocentes*

³³⁸ Pontifex noster, i.e. the Pontiff (Bishop) | "Pontifex in Lege." Compare note 194, of us Christians in contrast with Aaron the | p. 101.

et reſti adhæſerunt mihi. Quarto propter fui latitudinem congrue charitatem deſignat. Unde ſuper profanas et communes veſtes induitur ad notandum quod Charitas operit multitudinem peccatorum.

Quinto propter fui formam, quia in modum crucis formatur, Paſſionem Domini figurat, quodque illud gerentes crucifigi debent cum vitiis et cum concupiſcentiis.

Fiunt autem Superpellicea in quibuſdam locis de criſmalibus lineis quæ ponuntur ſuper infantulos baptizatos: exemplo Moïſi qui de purpura et byſſo, et aliis a populo in tabernaculo oblatis, fecit veſtes quibus Aaron et filii ejus induerentur, quando miniſtrabant in Sanctuario.

THE PLUVIAL OR COPE.

Eſt etiam et alia veſtis quæ Pluviale³³⁹ vel Cappa vocatur, quæ creditur a legali tunica mutuata. Unde ſicut illa tintinnabulis, ſic iſta fimbriis inſigitur (*Leg. inſignitur*), quæ ſunt labores, hujus mundi ſolicitudines. Habet etiam caputium, quod eſt ſupernum gaudium. Prolixa eſt uſque ad pedes, per quod perfeverantia uſque in finem ſignificatur. In anteriori parte aperta eſt, ad denotandum quod ſanctæ converſantibus vita patet æterna, ſeu quod eorum vita patere debet aliis in exemplum . . . Rurſus per Cappam glorioſa corporum immortalitas intelligitur. Unde illam non niſi in majoribus feſtivitibus induimus, aſpicientes in futuram reſurrectionem quando electi, depoſita carne, binas ſtolas accipient, videlicet requiem animarum et gloriam corporum. Quæ Cappa recte interius patula eſt, niſi et [*Leg. et niſi*] ſola neceſſaria fibula inconfuta, quia corpora ſpiritualia facta nullis animam obturabunt anguſtiis. Fimbriis etiam ſubornantur, quia tunc noſtræ nihil deerit imperfectioni; ſed quod nunc ex parte cognoviſcimus tunc cognoviſcemus ſicut et cogniti ſumus.

³³⁹ The name *pluviale* ("parapluie," as it were), and the Cape or Hood from which was derived the name *Cappa*, and our own "Cope," point to the origin of the veſtment as originally worn out of doors for protection from the weather. The form of the later eccleſiaſtical cope may be ſeen in Plate LI., where it is worn by the biſhops officiating at the Coronation of Henry VI.

The memory of the original hood is ſtill preſerved in the peculiar ornament on the back of the Cope, upon which the outline of a ſmall cape or round hood is traced in embroidery. See, for example, Bock, *L. G.* vol. ii. pl. xli. [The Cappa is mentioned as one of the monaſtic habits early in the eleventh century. See *Thomasſinus De Ben.* part i. lib. ii. cap. 48, p. 332.]

XL.

SYMEON
PATRIARCHA THESSALONICENSIS.³⁴⁰

Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας.

Κεφ. πι. περὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερατικοῦ Μανδύου ³⁴¹ τε καὶ τοῦ Ἐγκολπίου ³⁴² καὶ τῆς
ποιμαντικῆς ῥάβδου.

Τυθέντος οὖν καὶ θανόντος καὶ ἀναστάντος καὶ ἀνελθόντος Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τότε τὸ Πνεῦμα κατήλθε, καὶ τὴν χάριν ἐλάβομεν. Καὶ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας τῶν πιστῶν οἱ ποταμοὶ ³⁴³ τῶν ὠρεῶν ³⁴⁴ ῥέουσι. Καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῖ ὁ Μανδύας. Καὶ ἡ σφραγὶς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στήθει ἐκκρεμαμένη διὰ σταυροῦ ἢ ἐγκολπίου τινος. Καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τῷ στήθει διὰ τὴν ἐκ καρδίας ὁμολογίαν.

Ἡ ῥάβδος ³⁴⁵ δὲ, ἣν κατέχει, τὴν ἐξουσίαν δηλοῖ τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ τὸ στηρικτικὸν τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ τὸ ποιμαντικόν, καὶ τὸ ὀδηγεῖν δύνασθαι, καὶ τὸ παιδεύειν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, καὶ τὸ συνάγειν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τοὺς μακρὰν. Διὸ καὶ λαβὰς ὡς ἀγκύρας ἄνωθεν ἔχει. Καὶ τὸ διώκειν τοὺς θηριωδεῖς τε καὶ λυμαντικούς. Καὶ τελευταῖον τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ δηλοῖ, καὶ τὸ τροπαῖον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ νικῶμεν, καὶ στηριζόμεθα, καὶ ὀδηγούμεθα, καὶ τοιμανόμεθα, καὶ σφραγι-

³⁴⁰ The writer, here quoted, occupied the See of Thessalonica from circ. 1410 to 1429 A.D. This Treatise was first made known in the West by Jacobus Pontanus, a zealous partisan, who, if Cave speak truly (*Hist. Lit.* ii. p. 113), was anything but a trustworthy editor.

³⁴¹ In this chapter he describes the ordinary dress of a Bishop; his dress of ministry is spoken of in the chapter following. The Mantle, with its three stripes, technically called *ποταμοί*, and the Pastoral Staff may be seen in the representation of Patriarch Bekkos among the illustrations of this volume. See Plate LIX.

³⁴² *ἐγκόλπιον*. See above, note 315, p. 158.

³⁴³ This is used in allusion to Jo. vii. 38,
39. "He that believeth on me . . . out

of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. This spake He of the Spirit which they that believe on Him should receive."

³⁴⁴ *ὠρεῖα* is here correctly used of a gift from God to man. *Δῶρον*, on the other hand, is properly a gift, or offering to homage, from man to God. See *Eirenica*, vol. i. p. 187 (foot-note.)

³⁴⁵ In the Greek Church the Staff has not the form of a shepherd's crook, as commonly it has in the West, but retains the semblance rather of a staff such as men might use in walking. The handle is set on cross-wise like the horizontal line of the letter T, but the extremities of this handle are generally turned up slightly, and terminate in some carved ornament. See the Figure referred to in note 341.

ζόμεθα, καὶ παιδαγωγούμεθα, καὶ ἐλκόμεθα εἰς Χριστὸν τὰ πάθη νεκροῦντες, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους διώκομεν, καὶ πάντοθεν φυλαττόμεθα.

Κεφ. πά. Περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐνδυμάτων.

Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐνδύεται μὲν ὡς εἰρήκαμεν τὸ Στιχάριον³⁴⁶ ὡς ἔνδυμα ἀφθαρσίας φωτεινὸν καὶ ἀγιοσύνης, τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ φωτιστικὸν³⁴⁷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀγγέλων ἀγγέλων καὶ λαμπρὸν, δῆλουν. Καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν φησὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ· Ἀγαλλιᾶσθε καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ. Εἶτα τὸ Ἐπιτραχήλιον,³⁴⁸ τὸ ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐράνου ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς δοθεῖσαν χάριν σημαῖον. Καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦτο φησὶν· Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐκχέων τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἱερεῖς αὐτοῦ. Εἶτα τὴν ζώνην, τὴν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἰσχὺν ἐκτυποῦσαν περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν τιθεμένην. Καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ μαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῷ περιζωννύεσθαι· φησὶ γάρ, Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ περιζωννύων με δύναμιν. Ἄμα δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς διακονίας ἔργον δηλοῦ. Ὁ γὰρ διακονῶν περιζώννυται. Καὶ ἔτι τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀγνείαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς νεφροὺς κειμένη καὶ τὴν ὀσφύν.

Ἐπειτα τὸ Ἐπιγονάτιον³⁴⁹ τὸ κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου νίκην δῆλουν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνάστασιν, ὅπερ καὶ ὡς σχῆμα ῥομφαίας ἔχει. Καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦτο φησὶ· Περιζῶσαι τὴν ῥομφαῖάν σου ἐπὶ τὸν μηρόν σου, δύνατέ. Ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν νίκην, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ τῆς καθαρότητος καὶ ἀναμαρτησίας, δηλῶν (*Leg.* δηλοῦ.) Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀσφύος ἐκκρέματα. Καὶ τῇ ὠραϊότητί σου καὶ τῷ κάλλει σου, φησὶ, καὶ ἔντειναι καὶ κατευοδοῦ καὶ βασίλευε, ἔνεκεν ἀληθείας καὶ πραότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης. . . .

Εἶτα λαμβάνει τὰ ἐπιμανίκια,³⁵⁰ Ἄ δὴ τὸ παντουργικὸν σημαίνουσι τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦτο λέγει· Ἡ δεξιὰ σου, Κύριε, δεδόξασται ἐν ἰσχύϊ.

³⁴⁶ Στοιχάριον. The derivation of this word is uncertain. It is the term which in the Greek Church answers to the *alba* (or *tunica alba*) of the West.

³⁴⁷ The Sticharion as being *white* sets forth τὸ φωτιστικὸν Ἰησοῦ. With this symbolism of white garments compare Clemens Alex. *Pædag.* iii. p. 286. *εἰρηναίος ἀνθρώποις καὶ φωτεινός κατὰλληλον τὸ λευκόν.*

³⁴⁸ Ἐπιτραχήλιον i.e. what in the Western Church would be called a *stole*. See note 144, p. 84.

³⁴⁹ τὸ ἐπιγονάτιον. This ornament may be seen in the figures of St. Methodius and St. Germanus among the illustrations of this volume, Pl. LVIII. The germ of this orna-

ment may be seen in the somewhat similar ornaments on the imperial dresses of Justinian and his courtiers, (known in the language of the time as *paragaudæ*) in the Mosaic of the Church of S. Vitalis at Ravenna. See Pl. XXVIII.

³⁵⁰ Ἐπιμανίκιον. A Byzantine word, half Greek and half Latin, like many others of similar character. By derivation it will mean "what is added to, or set upon, the sleeve;" and hence its actual usage as a designation of the cuffs, worn on either arm, by bishops and priests in the Greek Church. Their form may be seen in those of Bishop Nikitas, figured among the illustrations of this volume. Pl. LVI.

Καὶ τὸ Λί χεῖρες σου ἐποίησάν με καὶ ἔπλασάν με. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ταῖς χερσίν ἱερουργῆσαι τὰ μυστήρια ἑαυτοῦ. Καὶ τὸ τὰς χεῖρας δεθῆναι.

Εἶτα τὸ Φαινόλιον,³⁵¹ ἢ Σάκκος³⁵² ὃν ἡ Πολυσταύριον,³⁵³ ἃ δὴ τὴν ἐν τῷ πάλει σημαίνουνσι χλαῖναν. Καὶ τὸν Σάκκον μᾶλλον ὁ Σάκκος.³⁵⁴ Καὶ τὸ Πολυσταύριον δέ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν προνοητικὴν καὶ φρουρητικὴν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ συνεκτικὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ, δι' ἣν καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὥφθη, καὶ τὰ πάθη ὑπῆνεγκε.

Κεφ. πβ'. Τὸ Ὠμοφόριον.

Καὶ τελευταῖον τὸ Ὠμοφόριον,³⁵⁵ ὃ ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων ἐλίττων τὴν τοῦ πλανηθέντος προβάτου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡμῶν δηλοῦ σωτηρίαν τε καὶ ἀνάκλησιν. Οὗ δὴ καὶ τὴν μορφὴν ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ παθὼν διὰ Σταυροῦ ἡμᾶς ἔσωσεν. Ὁθεν καὶ ἐξ ἐρίου. Καὶ ἔμπροσθεν τε καὶ ὀπισθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους σταυρεῖδῶς τέσσαρας ἔχει σταυροὺς τὴν σταύρωσιν ἐκτυποῦντας. Καὶ οὕτω μὲν στολισάμενος ἴσταται ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς.

Κεφ. πγ'. Τὰ πέντε ἄμφια τῶν ἱερέων.

[After describing the ceremonies with which the Liturgy begins, he proceeds as follows :]

Ἀπέρχεται οὖν οὗτος [sc. ὁ ἱερεὺς] καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων τὰ ἱερατικὰ

³⁵¹ Φαινόλιον. For the form of the word as compared with the older *φαινόλης*, equivalent to *rasnula*, see note 153, p. 86. The primitive forms of this vestment may be seen (Pl. XXVII.) in the figure of Eusebius of Cæsarea (from the Syriac MS. at Florence), or in that of St. Sampson, among the illustrations of this volume, Pl. LVI.

³⁵² Σάκκος. This is a close-fitting vestment worn in place of the *φαινόλιον* by Metropolitans, as a mark of distinctive dignity. See Goar, *Euchol. Gr.* p. 113. Its form may be seen in the figure of St. Germanus in Pl. LVIII.

³⁵³ Πολυσταύριον, i.e. a Phænolion marked with crosses over its entire surface. It is worn by Bishops generally, or at least was so in the time of St. Symeon here quoted. In his treatise *De Templo* (quoted by Goar, *Euch. Gr.* p. 113) he says, οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων (i.e. those not having metropolitan dignity) τὸ φελώνιον πλήρες σταυρῶν ἐνδύονται· ὃ δὴ καὶ πολυσταύριον ὁ λόγος καλεῖν οἶδε.

³⁵⁴ These words are explained by what the

Patriarch says in another passage (*De Templo*, apud Goar, *Euchol. Græc.* p. 113), ἱεραρίτας δὲ ὃν ἐνεδύσατο ἱμπαιζόμενος ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐξεικονίζει σάκκον· διὸ καὶ σάκκον τύπον ἔχει. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχει τοῦτο ἃ καλοῦσι μανίκια. Ἀριδηλότερον δὲ τοῦτο παρίστησι καὶ ὃ ἐνδύονται οἱ ἑκκριτοὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων, σάκκος καὶ τοῦτο καλούμενον.

³⁵⁵ τὸ Ὠμοφόριον. This vestment mentioned first by St. Isidore of Pelusium (see p. 49), and again by St. Germanus (see p. 85), has from the earliest times been worn by all Greek bishops, whether Metropolitans or others. In form, too, it has varied but little, if at all, from the earliest times in which we find it represented, even to the present day. It is worn by all the bishops represented in the picture of the Second Council of Nicæa (Pl. XLI. of the illustrations of this volume), and may be seen also in the figures of St. Methodius and St. Germanus already referred to. An Omophorion of the fourteenth century, that of Archbishop Moses, is figured in Plate LVI.

περιβάλλεται ἄμφια. . . . Ἐκαστον εὐλογεῖ ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐνδυμάτων τε καὶ ἀσπάζεται, καὶ οὕτω δὴ περιβάλλεται, δεικνὺς ὡς ἡγιασμένα εἶσι, καὶ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγιάζεται, καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ μεταδοτικά εἰσι πάλιν ἐπενδύμενα. Περιβάλλεται οὖν πέντε ἐνδύματα, ὡς τέλειος καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ τελειοποιὸν ἔχων χάριν. Πέντε γὰρ αἱ τέλειαι εἰσιν αἰσθήσεις τοῦ σώματος, καὶ πέντε αἱ δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς αἷς καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀγιάζει βαπτίζων καὶ ἀγιάζων τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Ἔστι δὲ ἃ ἐνδύεται, Στιχάριον, Ἐπιτραχήλιον, Ζώνη, Ἐπιμανίκια, καὶ Φαινόλιον. Λευκὰ δὲ ταῦτα, διὰ τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς χάριτός τε καὶ φωτεινόν.

Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πορφυρεὰ κατὰ καιρὸν τῶν νηστειῶν, διὰ γε τὸ πενθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτήσαντας, καὶ διὰ τὸν σφαγέντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵν' εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἐλθόντες τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν μιμησώμεθα ὃ (*fort.* ὃν) καὶ μέλλομεν ἱερτάζειν. Τινὲς δὲ τῶν πρῶτων πρεσβυτέρων, ἥτοι οἱ Σταυροφόροι,³⁵⁶ τῶν Ἀρχιμανδριτῶν τε τινὲς, καὶ ἐπιγονάτιον ἔχουσι· τοῦτο γὰρ κατὰ ὁμολογίαν ἐστὶν ἀρχιερατικὴν ὡς καὶ ὁ Σταυρός. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ πλὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως τοὺς σταυροὺς τε ἐν τῷ φαινολίῳ καὶ ἐπὶ κεφαλῇς, καὶ τὸ Ἐπιγονάτιον φορεῖν, δύναται. Τοῖτοις δὲ ὁμῶς, διὰ τὸ πρῶτους τῶν ἄλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι, τὸ ἐπὶ κεφαλῇς ἔχειν σταυρὸν μόνον, καὶ ἐπιγονάτιον ἐν τῇ ἱερωργίᾳ φορεῖν, δίδοται.³⁵⁷

THE MANDYAS, OR MANTLE, OF THE BISHOP, THE PECTORAL CROSS, AND PASTORAL STAFF.

AFTER that Christ for us had been sacrificed, had died, and risen again, and gone up on high, then did the Spirit come down from above, and we received the grace of God. And now out of the hearts of the faithful flow the rivers³⁴³ of the divine gifts.³⁴⁴ And this is set forth by the

³⁵⁶ οἱ σταυροφόροι. Certain of the clergy at the principal Church at Constantinople had the privilege of wearing a cross upon their cowls. See above note 152, p. 86.

³⁵⁷ From this passage we find that in the fifteenth century the recognized vestments of the Greek Church were, with few additions only, identical with those described by St. Germanus seven centuries earlier. St. Germanus mentions Sticharion, Peritrachelion (or Epitrachelion), and Phelonion, adding mention of the Omophorion as a distinctive vestment (τοῦ ἀρχιερέως), worn by bishops. To these we now find added the cuffs (common to priests and bishops), and the "Epigonation," the latter worn by bishops only. On

the other hand, the ἐγκέριον, or napkin, mentioned as characteristic of a deacon by Germanus, finds no place in this later notice.

Lastly, the σάκκος (note 352) and the πολυσταύριον (note 353) spoken of in the later treatise, do not appear to have been known to the earlier of the two writers. Nor does St. Germanus make mention of a pastoral staff, or a pectoral cross, as being in his time distinctive insignia of a bishop.

But even with the additions here noticed the seven sacred vestments of the Greek bishop stand contrasted in their greater simplicity and close adherence to antiquity, with the fifteen enumerated by Innocent III., and retained to this day by the Roman Church.

Mantle. The Seal, too, and profession of the Faith, is suspended on the breast of the Bishop by a Cross, or Pectoral ornament. For this also is worn upon the Breast, because of the profession which from the heart is made.

Then the Staff,³⁴⁵ which he holdeth, sheweth forth the power of the Spirit, and what appertaineth to the confirming and pastoral care of God's people, and the power to guide, and the chastising of them that are disobedient, and the gathering unto himself of them that are afar off. Wherefore also it hath handles³⁴⁵ on the upper part thereof, like unto anchors. It signifieth also the pursuing of them that are fierce in spirit and injurious. And, lastly, it setteth forth the Cross of Christ, and the memorial of victory, wherein we are both conquerors ourselves, and are strengthened, and guided, and shepherded, and sealed, and led by the hand, and drawn unto Christ, mortifying our evil affections, wherewith also we pursue our foes, and are protected on every side.

CAP. 81. THE SEVEN SACRED VESTMENTS OF A BISHOP.

But the (chief priest) Bishop putteth upon him, as we have said, the Sticharion,³⁴⁶ as a lightsome garment of immortality and holiness, setting forth the pure and light-giving nature of Jesus, and the holiness and brightness of the angels. And the prayer that he saith is from the Psalm, "*My soul shall rejoice in the Lord.*"

Then he putteth on the Epitrachelion,³⁴⁸ which is a sign of grace given from above out of heaven, proceeding from the Head. And this doth the prayer express, "*Blessed be God, who poureth out His grace upon His priests.*"

Then the Girdle, setting forth in figure the strength which is from God, in that this is laid about the loins. And to this doth the prayer witness, which at the girding is used, "*Blessed be God who girdeth me about with power.*" By it is likewise signified the work of ministry, for it appertaineth to one who ministers that he wear a girdle. And yet again it is a sign of soberness and chaste purity, resting as it does upon the reins and loins.

After this he putteth on the Genua,³⁴⁹ which setteth forth Victory over Death, and the Resurrection of the Saviour, which also is worn after the fashion of a sword. And this doth the prayer say, "*Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, thou mighty one.*" And because of this

doth it set forth both the power, and the victory, and the rising of Christ from the dead, by the purity and sinlessness thereof. For this is the cause wherefore this vestment also is suspended from the loins. "*In the prime of thy might and in thy beauty,*" saith he, "*hold on thy way, and prosper, and reign, because of Truth, and Meekness, and Righteousness.*"

Next after this he taketh the Cuffs,³⁵⁰ By these is signified the pervading energy of God. And to this do the words of the prayer apply, "*Thy right hand, O Lord, is glorified in strength.*" And again, "*Thy hands made me and fashioned me.*" By them, too, is figured His consecrating with His hands the mysteries of Himself. And, again, that of His hands being bound.

Next followeth the Phænolion,³⁵¹ either Saccos,³⁵² or Polytaurion,³⁵³ by which is signified the outer robe which He bare at the time of His passion. And by the Saccos that he wears is signified rather the like garment of Christ.³⁵⁴ And so, too, may we say of the Polytaurion. Though by this is shown also the grace of God, provident and protective in all things, and maintainant, by reason of which He both appeared among us men, and endured those His sufferings.

CAP. 82. THE OMOPHORION.

Last of all, he taketh the Omophorion,³⁵⁵ which he rolleth out (unfolds) from his shoulders, and so setteth forth the saving and recalling to the fold of the lost sheep of our Humanity. Of which sheep the Saviour did assume the form; wherein also He suffered, and so saved us by the cross. And this is the reason that it is made of wool. And both behind and in front, and upon the breast, it hath four crosses, arranged crosswise, figuring forth the Crucifixion.

Such is the fashion in which the Bishop doth stand arrayed.

CAP. 83. THE FIVE VESTMENTS OF THE PRIEST.

[*After describing the ceremonies with which the Liturgy begins, he proceeds as follows:*]

The Priest then goeth thence, and with the other Priests putteth upon him the sacerdotal garments. He blesteth each of the sacred

vestments, and kisseth it, even as does the chief-priest (Bishop). And having so done he putteth it about him, shewing by that he doeth that they have been consecrated, and are made holy by the cross of Christ, and impart holiness now that again they are put on. Five garments accordingly he putteth about him, as being himself consummate, and endowed with consummating grace. For five is the full number of the bodily senses; and five the powers of the soul, which are sanctified by Jesus when He baptizeth man and sanctifieth him. And the vestments that the Priest putteth on are these, Sticharion [note 346], Epitrachelion, Girdle, Cuffs, Phænolion. And these are white, because of the purity and illumination that belongeth to grace. But oftentimes too they are purple, in times of fast, because of our mourning in respect of sin, and because of Him who on our behalf was slain, in order that being put in remembrance of His passion we may follow the example of Him, whose feast also we are about to keep.

But some of the principal presbyters, the Cross-wearers as they are called, and certain of the Archimandrites, wear a Genua also; for this is a matter of episcopal favour, as is also the wearing of a cross. For none save the Bishop hath power to wear both the crosses (on the Phænolion and the head) and the Genua. Yet, nevertheless, those of whom I now speak, because of their being ordained with precedence over others, have given unto them the right to wear a cross upon the head only, and a Genua, when occupied in the holy office.³⁵⁷

APPENDIX.

A.

ASSOCIATIONS OF COLOUR IN PRIMITIVE TIMES, AND MORE PARTICULARLY IN THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES OF CHRISTIAN HISTORY.

PART I. PASSAGES OF PROFANE AUTHORS QUOTED³⁵⁸ OR ALLUDED TO IN THE INTRODUCTION.

1. Plato, *De Leg.* xii. p. 956. [He is speaking of the kind of offerings which may with most propriety be offered to the gods: and he says], ὑφ' ἡν δὲ μὴ πλέον ἔργον³⁵⁹ γυναικὸς μιᾶς ἔμνηνον· χρώματα δὲ λευκὰ πρέποντ' ἂν εἴη θεαῖς, καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ ἐν ὑφ'· βάμματα δὲ μὴ προσφέρειν ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς τὰ πολέμου κοσμήματα.

2. *Ibid.* p. 947. He is speaking of the honours to be paid to the “Most Worthy” citizens in the Commonwealth: that they shall have precedence in all Public Assemblies; shall represent the State in solemn religious Embassies; shall alone among all be crowned with Bay; shall be Priests, all of them, of Apollo and of Helios, and one among them be high-priest in each year, and that by his name (as Eponymus) the year shall be known. He then adds:—

τελευτήσασι δὲ προθέσεις τε καὶ ἐκφορὰς καὶ θήκας διαφοροὺς εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, λευκὴν μὲν τὴν στολὴν εἶναι πᾶσαν κ.τ.λ.

“When they die let them be marked out from all other citizens both by the state in which they are set out, and by their carrying out to burial, and by the tombs to which they are committed; and let their apparel be all of white,” etc.

³⁵⁸ Where a translation of any of these passages has already been given in the Introduction, none is given in this Appendix, nor in cases where no difficulty of any kind obscures the meaning of the author. In other passages I have endeavoured to supply, either by full Translations or by Notes, what appeared

necessary for the elucidation of meaning.

³⁵⁹ μὴ πλέον, κ. τ. λ. He means that the labour expended upon it should not be more than would occupy one pair of hands for a month. See the translation of what follows, and the explanatory note, Introduction, cap. iii. p. xviii. γ.

With this of white apparel wherein to array the dead we may compare the passage that follows :—

3. Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* τὸ σῶμα τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀμφιεννύουσι λευκοῖς, ἕπει μὴ δύνανται τὴν ψύχην βούλονται δὲ ἐκείνην λαμπρὴν καὶ καθαράν προπέμπειν, ὡς προσιμένην ἤδη, καὶ διηγωνισμένην μέγαν ἀγῶνα ³⁶⁰ καὶ ποικίλον.

“The body of the dead they array in white, seeing that they cannot so clothe his soul; and their desire therein is to attend it, all bright and pure, to the grave, as one already released from the body, and that has contended even to the end in the great and chequered battle of life.”

4. Horace, *Sat.* ii. 61. White, the colour of social, and in some sort religious, festive, whether of marriage, birthdays, or the like.

Licebit

Ille repotia, ³⁶¹ *natales, aliove dierum*

Festus albatus celebret.

5. Ovid. *Trist.* lib. iii., xii. [He is writing on his Birthday].

Scilicet expectes soliti tibi moris honorem

Pendeat ³⁶² *ex humeris vestis ut alba meis?*

6. Ovid, lib. v. el. 5. [He writes now of his Wife's Birthday],

Annuus adfuetum Domine natalis honorem

Exigit

Quæque semel toto vestis mihi sumitur anno

Sumatur fati discolor alba meis.

“Though because of his unhappy condition he should rather be wearing mourning, yet will he, in honour of this day, put on the white robe (*toga*) of festive.”

7. Persius, *Sat.* ii.

Negato

Jupiter hoc illi quamvis albata rogarit.

“Let the gods deny her request, even though (clad in white, and so) with all solemnity of outward worship her prayer be uttered.”

8. Donatus on Terence (apud Wetstenium in Matt. xxvii. 28) *Læto vestitus*

³⁶⁰ An echo one might almost believe of a thought yet finer and more far reaching still : τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἡγώμισμαι· τὸν δρόμον πετέλεκα· λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στίφανος ὃν ἀποδώσει μοι ὁ Κύριος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, κ. τ. λ.

³⁶¹ *Repotia.* The return feast given by the bridegroom on the day after a marriage.

Festus apud Scheller : “*Repotia posttridie nuptias apud novum maritum cœnatur. Quia quasi reficitur potatio.*”

³⁶² *Pendeat ex humeris.* Note this expression as suggesting that it is of the full and flowing supervesture (and here the *Toga*) that he speaks, not of the Tunic.

*candidus ærumnoſo obſoletus: purpureus diviti, phæniceus*³⁶³ *pauperi datur: militi chlamys purpurea induitur.*³⁶⁴

“White veſture is for them that rejoice, and ſad clothing for them that are oppreſſed with grief. Purple is beſtowed upon the rich, dark red³⁶³ upon the poor. A purple chlamys is the mantle of honour³⁶⁴ for a ſoldier.”

9. Martial, *Epig.* i. lvi. [After deſcribing the pleaſures of the country, where men can do as they like and dreſs as they like, he adds]:

*Non amet hanc vitam quiſquis me non amat opto,
Vivat et urbanis albus in officiis.*

The worſt he will wiſh for his enemies is that they may be bored as he had often been, when at Rome, by the ceremonious etiquette of the Capital, on occaſions in which the wearing of white dreſs was a kind of ſocial neceſſity. To the ſame effect he expreſſes himſelf elſewhere, when deſcribing what to him appear the real bleſſings of life; one of which is “*toga rara*,” the times few and far between, when one ſhall need to wear the long white robe of burdensome ceremony. I quote the epigram becauſe of its own worth:—

AD JVLIVM MARTIALEM.

Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorẽ,
Jucundiſſime Martialis, hæc ſunt:
Reſ non parta labore, fed relicta:
Non ingratus ager, focus perennis;³⁶⁵
Lis nunquam, toga rara, mens quieta;
Vires ingenuæ,³⁶⁶ ſalubre corpus,
Prudens ſimplicitas,³⁶⁷ pares amici,
Convictus facilis, fine arte menſa:
Mens non ebria, fed ſoluta curis:

³⁶³ *Phæniceus*. There were in Italy common, and not coſtly, dyes, of home produce, which furniſhed a colour approaching to purple, but without the luſtre and brilliant colour of the more expensive Tyrian or Laconian dye. This is the “*noſtra plebeia purpura ac pæne ſuſca*” of which Cicero ſpeaks (pro Sextio); the *μελαῖνα πορφύρεα*, which Plutarch attributes to Cato, oppoſing it to the *ἐρυθρὰ καὶ ἰζεῖα* (apud Oſt. Ferr. p. 707, 2). Some ſuch cheap and inferior purple is evidently here meant.

³⁶⁴ *Militi chlamys purpurea induitur*. He does not mean ſimply “the ſoldier wears a purple chlamys,” but, that a chlamys of purple would be the dreſs of honour put about the ſhoulders of a ſoldier, whom an “*Imperator*” deſired to honour. For an example, ſee the paſſage in Commodus’ letter to Albinus, quoted in the Introduction, cap. 3, p. xviii.

This uſage of beſtowing robes of various kinds as marks of imperial favour was one of the many Eaſtern cuſtoms imported into the Weſt, of which, under the Empire, we find trace, and which in various ways have left their mark upon the uſages even of modern ſociety. Witneſs, for example, the *mantle of purple*, with which a Knight of the Garter is ſolemnly inveſted in the preſence of his Sovereign. The hiſtory of the Papal “*pallium*,” briefly ſtated in the Introduction (ſee Index in voc.), is a remarkable inſtance of the ſame kind.

³⁶⁵ *Focus perennis* (a permanent hearth, and ſo), a houſe of one’s own.

³⁶⁶ *Vires ingenuæ* (inborn, or natural, ſtrength, and ſo, with the words that follow), “ſtrength and health.”

³⁶⁷ *Prudens ſimplicitas*. *Φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὀφείας καὶ ἀνέγκαιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί.* (Matt. x. 16.)

Non triftis torus, attamen pudicus :
 Somnus, qui faciat breves tenebras :
 Quod sis, esse velis, nihilque malis :
 Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes.

(Lib. x. Epig. xlvii.)

10. Artemidori^{377a} *Oneirocritica*, lib. ii. cap. 3.

Περὶ ἐσθῆτος καὶ κόσμου παντοδαποῦ ἀνδρείου τε καὶ γυναικείου.

Περὶ ἐσθῆτος καὶ κόσμου παντοδαποῦ ποιοῦμενος τὸν λόγον πρῶτον περὶ ἀνδρείας σκευῆς, ἐγχαυρίου τε καὶ ξίνης, ἡγοῦμαι δαῖν διαλαβεῖν. Ἐσθῆς ἡ συνήθης πᾶσιν ἀγαθή· καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους. Θέρους μὲν γὰρ ὄντος ὀθονία τε καὶ τριβανὰ ἱμάτια δοκεῖν φορεῖν ἀγαθὸν ἂν εἶη καὶ ὑγείας σύμβολον. Χειμῶνος δὲ ἐρίτα ἱμάτια, καὶ ταῦτα καινὰ. Μόνῳ δὲ τῷ δίκῃ ἔχοντι καὶ δουλείας ἀπαλλακτικῶντι πονηρὰ τὰ καινὰ ἱμάτια. Καὶ χειμῶνος βλέπεται (*Leg.* βλέπτει) διὰ τὸ πολλὴν ἔχειν τρίψιν καὶ ἐπιπολὺ ἀντέχειν. Λευκὰ δὲ ἱμάτια τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μόνοις συμφέρει καὶ δούλοις Ἑλλήνων. Τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ταραχὰς σημαίνει, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐν ὅχλῳ ἀναστρεφόμενους λευκὰ ἔχειν ἱμάτια. Χειροτέχναις δὲ ἀργίαν καὶ σχολήν. Καὶ ὅσω ἂν πολυτελεστέρα ἢ τὰ ἱμάτια τοσούτῳ πλείονα. Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἔργων ὄντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τὰς βαναύσους τέχνας ἐργαζόμενοι, λευκοῖς ἱματίοις χερῶνται. Δούλοι (*Leg.* δούλοι) δὲ Ῥωμαίων μόνοις τοῖς εὖ πρᾶσσουσιν τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις πονηρόν. Ἐλέγχῃ γὰρ τοὺς κακῶς πρᾶσσοντας, διὰ τε (*Leg.* διὰ τε τὸ) τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς δεσπόταις ὡς ἐπιπλεῖστον ἔχειν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ ὀνείρῳ οὐ γίνονται ἐλεύθεροι ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ἄνδρῃ δὲ νοσοῦντι λευκὰ ἔχειν ἱμάτια θάνατον προσαγορεύει· διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐν λευκοῖς ἐκφέρεισθαι. Τὸ δὲ μέλαν ἱμάτιον σωτηρίαν προσημαίνει· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀποθανόντες ἀλλ' οἱ πενθοῦντες τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας τοιοῦτοις χερῶνται. Οἶδα δὲ ἐγὼ πολλοὺς καὶ πένοντας καὶ δούλους καὶ δεσμώτας νοσοῦντας, οἱ καὶ μέλανα δοκοῦντες ἔχειν ἱμάτια ἀπέθανον· ἦν γὰρ εἰκὸς τούτους μὴ ἐν λευκοῖς διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐκκομισθῆσεσθαι. Ἔστι δὲ ἄλλως ἡ μελαῖνα ἐσθῆς πᾶσι πονηρὰ· πλὴν τῶν τὰ λαθεῖα ἐργαζομένων. Ποικίλῃν δὲ ἐσθῆτα ἔχειν ἢ ἀλουργίδα ἱερεῦσι μὲν καὶ θυμεικοῖς καὶ σκηνικοῖς καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον μόνοις τεχνίταις συμφέρει. Τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ταραχὰς καὶ κινδύνους μόνοις ἐπιφέρει, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει. Τοὺς δὲ νοσοῦντας ὑπὸ θερμῶν χύμαν καὶ πολλῆς χολῆς ἐνοχληθῆναι σημαίνει. Πορφυρεὰ δὲ ἐσθῆς δούλοις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πλουσίοις· οἷς μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸ μὴ μετεῖναι ἐλευθερίαν σημαίνει· οἷς δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιτάττειν, καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι κατὰλληλον εἶναι, τιμὴν καὶ εὐδοξίαν προσαγορεύει. Νοσοῦντα δὲ ἀαιρεῖ καὶ πέντα βλέπτει· πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ δεσμὰ προήγγειλε. Χρῆ γὰρ τὸν ἔχοντα πορφυρεῖν πάντως διάδημα ἢ στέφανον ἔχειν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀκολουθοὺς ἢ φύλακας. Τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ ἀλουργίδι σημαίνει. Κοκκίνη δὲ [ἐσθῆς] καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοιαύτη ἐσθῆς ἢ πορφυροβαφῆς οἷς μὲν τραύματα, οἷς δὲ πυρετὸν ἐπιφέρει. Γυναικεία δὲ ἐσθῆς ἀγάμοις μόνοις συμφέρει, καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ θυμέλῃν ἀναβαίνουσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ γαμήσουσιν οὕτω καταθυμίοις γυναικῶς ὥστε τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι κόσμοις· οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ ὑποκρίσει ἔθος μεγαλῶς ἐργασιῶν καὶ μίσθους λήφονται. Τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν στηρίσκει καὶ νόσῳ μεγάλῃ περὶβάλλει, διὰ τὸ μαλθακὸν καὶ ἀσθενὲς τῶν τὰ τοιαύτα φοροῦντων. Ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ παυηγύρεσιν οὔτε ποικίλῃ οὔτε γυναικείᾳ βλέπτει

^{377a} See note μ, p. xi., for particulars concerning this Writer.

τινι ἐσθής.³⁶⁸ Βαρεβαρικὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα ἔχειν ἐνεσκευασμένην ὥσπερ οἱ βάρεβαροι ἐκεί μὲν ἀπίεμαι βουλόμενοι ὅπου τοιαύτη ἐσθῆτι χρεῶνται οἱ διατρίβοντες, ἀγαθὰς τὰς ἐκεῖ διατριβὰς σημαίνει. Πολλὰς δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ καταβιῶναι προαγγέλλει. Τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς νόσον καὶ ἀπρωγίαν δηλοῖ. Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαικὴ ἐσθῆς ἦν νῦν τίθενον.^{368a} καλοῦσιν. . . .

Μαλακῇ δὲ ἐσθῆτι καὶ πολυτελεῖ χρεῖσθαι πλουσίοις μὲν ἀγαθὸν καὶ πίνησιν· οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἡ παροῦσα διαρίκει τρυφῇ, οἷς δὲ φαιδρότερα τὰ πρᾶγματα ἔσται. Δούλοις δὲ καὶ ἀπόροις νόσον προαγορεύει. Κολοβαὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπρεπεῖς ἐσθῆτες ζημίας καὶ ἀπραξίας σημαίνουσι. Χλαμύς δὲ ἦν ἐνίοι μανθύν, οἱ δὲ ἐφεστρίδα, οἱ δὲ βήριον, καλοῦσι, θλίψιν καὶ στενοχωρίαν καὶ τοῖς δικαζομένοις καταδικὴν μαντεύεται, διὰ τὸ ἐμπεριέχειν τὸ σῶμα. Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος Φαινόλης· καὶ εἴτι ἄλλο τούτοις ὁμοίον εἴη· ὅθεν ἀπολλύειν τὰ ἱμάτια ταῦτα ἢ ἔχειν βέλτιον. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἱματίων οὐδὲν ἀπολλύμενον συμφέροι, εἰ μὴ που τοῖς πένθσι καὶ δούλοις καὶ διδμένοις ἢ καταχεροῖς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν συνεχῇ οὔσιν. Ἀπολλύμενα γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν περιεχόντων τὸ σῶμα κακῶν ἀπάλειαν σημαίνει. Τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις οὔτε γυμνοῦσθαι οὔτε ἱμάτια ἀπολλύειν ἀγαθόν· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς κόσμον τινος ἀπολίσθαι σημαίνει. Γυναικὶ δὲ ποικίλη καὶ ἀνθηρὰ ἐσθῆς συμφέροι, μάλιστα δὲ ἑταίρα καὶ πλουσίᾳ· Ἡ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν, ἡ δὲ διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν, ἀνθηραῖς ἐσθήσεσι χρεῶνται. Τὰ δὲ ἰδιόχροα ἱμάτια πᾶσιν ἀγαθὸν σημαίνουσι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς εὐλαβουμένοις· ἐλεγχθῆναι γὰρ οὐχ ἑᾶ τὸ τοιοῦτον χρεῶμα. Ἀεὶ δὲ ἄμεινον καθαρὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ ἱμάτια ἔχειν καὶ πεπλυμένα καλῶς ἢ ῥυπαρὰ καὶ ἄπλυτα, πλὴν τῶν τὰς ῥυτωδαῖς ἐργασίας ἐργαζομένων.

11. Of the entire passage, as given above, I would call more particular attention to the following, as bearing upon questions discussed in the Introduction to this Treatise.

SIGNIFICANCE OF WHITE GARMENTS.

a. "White garments (seen in dreams) are a sign of good only for priests,³⁶⁹ and for slaves in Greece. To all others they are a sign of troubles, because it is in the busy crowd (of great cities) that men wear white garments. But to artizans they portend idleness, and leisure; and then the more complete in proportion to their greater costliness. For men wear not white garments when at work, especially if engaged in the humble mechanical trades."

THE DEAD CLAD IN WHITE: MOURNERS IN BLACK.

β. "To a sick man the wearing white garments is an announcement of

³⁶⁸ This statement, that a dress like that of women, and of varied colours, is for harm to none in time of feasts or public assemblies, has been already noticed. See Introduction, p. xi, note μ.

^{368a} Τίθενον or τίθενον, a " toga."

³⁶⁹ He does not mean that priests on days of sacrifice wore none but white garments, be-

cause, as we shall see below, this was not the case. But days of sacrifice, and of public festivity accompanied by sacrifice, were days on which white dress was assumed by the people generally; and such days were days of profit to the lower order of priests, and of public honour to those higher in station.

death; because it is in white that the dead are carried out to burial. But a black robe is a sign of recovery; for it is not the dead, but they that mourn for the dead, that are so dressed."

GAUDY COLOURED DRESS.

γ. "The wearing of parti-coloured or of sea-purple drefs, bringeth good to priests, to stage-players, and actors, and among artizans to those only who have to do with Dionysus. But to all others they portend trouble and danger only; and serve to the detection of secrets. And for such as are sick they are significant of oppression by acrid humours, and much bile." [To this may be added what follows later in the Chapter.] "To women, parti-coloured garments, coloured like unto flowers, are of good import, especially to harlots, and to the rich. For harlots, because of their occupation, and the rich, out of luxury, wear garments such as these."

ROBES OF PURPLE, AND SCARLET.

δ. "Robes of purple are of good sign for slaves, and for rich men; to the former because, slaves having no right to such, they are significant of freedom; to the rich, because in respect of wealth alone they have no power to command; and purple, being correlative to official dignity, portendeth to them rank and reputation. But purple is death to a sick man, and harmful to one in poverty. And in many cases they have been found to foretell even bonds. For the wearer of purple must needs have either the band (diadem) that is proper to kings, or a chaplet (*στίφανος*, note 54) [bound about his brow], and be surrounded with many attendants or guards. But to such as work in matters pertaining to the worship of Dionysus, ordinary purple has the same significance as the sea-purple. Vestments of scarlet and the like, and such as are dyed purple, portend wounds to some, to others fever."

THE CHLAMYS AND THE PÆNULA.

ε. "The Chlamys, which some call Mandyas, others Ephestris, others Berion, foretelleth trouble, and difficulty, and to men under trial, condemnation, because of its compassing and confining the body. And like to this is the significance of what is called a 'Pænula,' and of other garments of the same kind."

VESTMENTS OF HEATHEN PRIESTHOOD.

12. Tyrian Priests wore a *χιτὼν πλατύσημος*, i.e., a Tunic with a broad band (*clavus*), probably of purple. Herodianus, lib. v. *apud* Ferrar. He is speaking of the honorary Priests of Elagabalus or Heliogabalus, the Syro-Phœnician

Sun-God. τὰ σπλάγχνα τῶν ἱερουργηθέντων τὰ τε ἀρώματα ἐν χρυσοῖς σκείουσιν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οὐκ οἰκείται δὴ τινὲς ἢ εὐτελεῖς ἄνθρωποι ἔφερον, ἀλλ' οἷτ' ἔπαρχοι τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις πράξεσιν, ἀνεξωσμένοι χιτῶνας ποδήρεις καὶ χειριδωτοῦς, νόμα Φοινίκων, ἐν μέσῳ φέροντες μίαν πορφύραν.³⁷⁰ Ὑποδήμασι δὲ λίνου πιποικημένοις ἐχρῶντο, ὥσπερ οἱ κατ' ἐκείνα τὰ χρόνια προφητεύοντες.

13. So in Tyrian colonies, as for example, the Priests of Hercules (Melcarth) at Gades: Silius Italicus, *Punica*, lib. iii.

Nec discolor ulli

Ante aras cultus; velantur corpora lino,

Ex Pelusiac præfulget flamine vertex: ³⁷¹

Discinctis ³⁷² mos thura dare, atque e lege parentum

Sacrificam lato vestem distinguere clavo.

14. To the same effect is what Tertullian says of the Priests of Saturnus at Carthage. *De Pallio*, cap. 4, p. 213.

“Latoris purpuræ ambitio,³⁷³ et Galatici³⁷⁴ ruboris superjectio, Saturnum commendat.”

In the same place he speaks of the Priests of Ceres as dressed wholly in white, those of Bellona in dark and gloomy garb.

“Cur . . . non spectas . . . illos habitus qui novitati suæ stare religionem mentiuntur, cum ob cultum omnia candidatum, et ob notam vitæ, et privilegium galeri,³⁷⁵ Cereri initiantur; cum ob diversam affectionem tenebricæ vestis, et tetrici super caput velleris, in Bellonæ mentes (*al.* montes) fugantur.”

15. Priests of Dionysus wore purple. See Artemidorus, quoted above, No. 10, and Clement of Alexandria, *Pæd.* lib. ii. cap. 9, quoted later in this Appendix. See No. 39.

16. At Rome the *Pontifices* wore a *Toga prætexta* (*i.e.*, bordered with purple). See Lampridius, quoted in note v, p. xi. And to the same effect is that of Livy (xl. 42), when, in speaking of the *Triumviri Epulones*,³⁷⁶ he says that to them *idem ut Pontifici lege datum togæ prætextæ habendæ jus*.

³⁷⁰ μίαν πορφύραν, *i.e.* a single band or stripe (*clavus*) of purple. Compare Silius Italicus in No. 13.

³⁷¹ That is, they wear a cap, or *μίτρα*, made of fine Egyptian linen.

³⁷² This points to the *long* tunic, not girt up by any *cingulum*.

³⁷³ *Latoris purpuræ ambitio*. This last word (*ambitio*) may possibly be used with reference to its literal meaning, “going round,” and so of “the compassing” of the vestment, on its border, by a broad purple stripe. But the more probable meaning (as the previous

context shows) is “the ambition of wearing a broad purple stripe” corresponding to the *latus clavus* of Roman use. The words here commented on refer to the *Tunica*; the *superjectio*, &c. (*ἐπένδυμα*) to the Super-vestment.

³⁷⁴ *Galaticus rubor*, *i.e.* scarlet. Plinii *Hist. Nat.* xxii. cap. 11. *Infici vestes scimus admirabili sacco. Atque ut fideamus Galatiæ, Africæ, Lusitanie cocci granum Imperatoris paludamentis dicatum*, &c. &c.

³⁷⁵ Note 124, p. 72.

³⁷⁶ *Triumviri Epulones*. Commissioners who regulated the public sacrificial feasts.

17. When sacrificing, the Pontiffs commonly covered the head with a portion of this *Pratexta*. To this Virgil alludes, when he represents Helenus giving directions to Æneas as to the ceremonial dress of sacrifice : Æn. iii. 404.

Quin ubi transmissæ steterint trans æquora classes,
Et positis aris jam vota in littore solves,
Purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu,³⁷⁷
Ne qua inter sanctos ignes in honore Deorum
Hostilis facies occurrat, et omnia turbet.

18. So also Flamens wore purple (Servius on Æneid iv.), and Augurs a *Trabea* of purple and scarlet, known as δῖβαρον. Hence the allusion of Cicero when writing to Atticus (*ad Att.* ii. 9), he says :—

“Proinde isti licet faciant quos volent Consules, Tribunos plebis; denique etiam Vatinii strumam sacerdotii δῖβαρον vestiant” (*i.e. let them make Vatinius an Augur.*).

PART II. ASSOCIATIONS OF COLOUR IN HOLY SCRIPTURE.

19. White Robes are symbolic of joy, Eccl. ix. 8 : of purity and cleansing from sin, Is. i. 18 ; Dan. xii. 10 ; Rev. iii. 4, 5 ; Rev. vii. 13, 14 : of righteousness, Rev. xix. 8.

20. In white angels are clothed, Matt. xxviii. 3 ; Mark, xvi. 5 ; Acts, i. 10. In white, too, our Lord was seen in vision at the Transfiguration, Matt. xvii. 2 ; Mark, ix. 3. In white “The Ancient of Days” was seen in vision by Daniel, Dan. vii. 9.

21. White are the robes of Levites at the Dedication of Solomon’s Temple, 2 Chron. v. 12. White (because made of *Linen*, note 16) the robes of Priests. White the robes with which the High-priest entered the Holy of Holies, on the Day of Atonement. See Philo Judæus, quoted at p. 8, and see note 17, p. 7.

RED.

22. Red is the colour of wine (*the blood of the grape*), Gen. xlix. 12 ; Ps. lxxv. 8 ; Prov. xxiii. 36 ; Is. lxiii. 2.

23. Red is the colour of blood (2 Kings, iii. 22, &c.), and so associated with the idea of battle, Nahum, ii. 3 ; Zech. i. 8 ; Rev. vi. 4.

24. Red is also a royal colour, and used in the decoration of kings’ palaces (Esther, i. 6). And as such probably used in the decoration of the “House of God,” King of kings, and Lord of lords.

25. But at other times red is associated with the idea of sin (“Thy sins,

³⁷⁷ This line is quoted by St. Jerome, on Ezek. xlv. See above, p. 30, *in fin.*

though they be red like crimfon”), If. i. 18; or with the imperfonation of Sin defcribed, in Rev. xii. 3, as a great dragon having feven heads and ten horns.

BLUE.

26. Blue is (like red) a royal colour, Efther, i. 6, ufed efpecially in “royal apparel,” Efther, viii. 15. Compare Ezek. xxiii. 6.

27. It was ufed (compare No. 24) in the decoration of the Tabernacle and Temple (Exod., Numb., 2 Chron., *passim*) and in the veftments of the High-prieft, Exod. xxviii. 31, &c.

28. We alfo find it mentioned as one of the produéts of “Tyrus,” Ezek. xxvii. 7, 24; and affociated with purple in the clothing of idols, Jer. x. 9.

SCARLET.³⁷⁸

29. Scarlet is a royal colour, 2 Sam. i. 24; Lam. iv. 5; Dan. v. 7, 16, 29.

30. As fuch, probably, it was ufed in the decoration of the Tabernacle (compare Nos. 24 and 27) and of the Temple, 2 Chron. ii. 7; and in the veftments of the High-prieft, Exod. xxviii. 6, &c.

31. From its refemblance to the colour of blood it has a fymbolical ufe in “cleansing from fin” (“*without fbedding of blood there is no remiffion*”). Lev. xiv. 4; Heb. ix. 19.

32. As being a brilliant and very coftly colour it was rarely ufed by unofficial perfons, as an ordinary colour of drefs, fave by the very wealthy, or by immodest women. (See above, No. 11, γ.) Hence it is fometimes fpoken of in Scripture (as elfewhere) as a meretricious colour, Rev. xvii. 4, 5, or as fymbolical of fin generally, If. i. 18; Rev. xvii. 3.

PURPLE.

33. Purple is a royal colour, Judg. viii. 26; Efther, i. 6; viii. 15; Mark, xv. 17.

34. As fuch (compare Nos. 27, 30) it had its ufe in the Tabernacle, Numb. iv. 13.

³⁷⁸ Scarlet was attainable, from its great coftlinefs, only by the wealthy. This probably explains the phrafe employed in Prov. xxxi. 21, where, in fpeaking of the “virtuous woman,” it is faid that “all her houfehold

are clothed with fcarlet,” *i.e.* by her prudence and wife management there is abundance of clothing, even the moft coftly, for all that need.

35. And for a similar reason, when used by private persons, it is regarded as a proof, sometimes of abundant wealth, Prov. xxxi. 22 (where the clothing of "the virtuous woman" is silk and purple), more often of luxury and self-indulgence, as in Luke, xvi. 19.

PART III. ASSOCIATIONS OF COLOUR IN EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

36. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Pædag.* lib. ii. p. 233.

"I honour that ancient Lacedæmonian people, who allowed none but harlots to wear garments wrought like unto flowers, and ornaments of gold."

SELLERS OF INCENSE AND DYERS OF WOOLS SHOULD BE BANISHED FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF TRUTH.

37. *Ibid.* p. 208. [He had been speaking with strongest condemnation of the use of unguents, and scents, and incense, and the like (for purposes of luxury), and he adds]:

"With good reason, to my judgment, did they act, who, indignant at seeing pains bestowed on things like these, held scents and unguents in such ill esteem, as emasculating all manliness of character, that they banished the makers of them from well-ordered states, and did treat no otherwise the dyers of various wools. An unrighteous thing it were that garments full of deceit, and unguents, should find their way into the city of truth. . . . And if perchance it should be said, that the Lord, the great High-priest, offereth the incense of sweet favour unto God, let them learn that this is no sacrifice and sweet favour of (actual) incense, but that which the Lord doth offer is the acceptable oblation of holy love, the spiritual sweet favour, upon the altar."

DYED GARMENTS SIGNS OF AN EVIL DISPOSITION.

38. *Ibid.* p. 234.

"All dyed colours should be avoided in drefs; for these are far away both from man's need, and from truth; and beside this they give proof of evil in the inward disposition."

GARMENTS DYED LIKE UNTO FLOWERS, FIT ONLY FOR WORSHIPPERS OF BACCHUS, FOR HEATHEN PRIESTS, AND STAGE PLAYERS.

39. *Ibid.* p. 235. "For men that are pure and unadulterate in heart a white and simple garb is the most fitting for their use. Plainly and purely speaketh Daniel the prophet. *Thrones*, saith he, *were set, and one took his seat thereon as it were the Antient of Days: and His raiment was white like snow.* And the Revelation speaketh of beholding the Lord in the like vesture. "I saw at the foot of the altar the souls of them that had testified for Christ, and there was given unto each one white raiment." But if need should be for seeking

any other colour, that natural colour which is of truth, sufficeth. But garments coloured like unto flowers are fit only for Bacchic rites, and for the mummeries of heathen priests. Purple, too, and silver tiffues, are 'for tragedy players, not for real life,' as the comic poet writes. Whereas the life of us Christian folk should be anything rather than a vain pomp."

THE SPIRITUAL MEANING OF THAT WHICH IS WRITTEN CONCERNING "THE
RAIMENT OF GOLD WROUGHT ABOUT WITH DIVERS COLOURS."

40. *Ibid.* p. 236. He had been speaking in strong condemnation of women wearing gaudy colours, such as those above spoken of. And lest any should defend this by alleging words of Scripture, which, as he judged, were to be spiritually understood, he writes as follows :

"What though the word of God by the mouth of David speaketh in Psalm concerning the Lord, saying, *Kings' daughters were among thine honourable women : on thy right hand stood the queen in a vesture of gold, and with garments fringed with gold was she compassed about.*³⁷⁹ In this he would have us to understand not raiment of luxurious softness, but that which is wrought of faith, he incorruptible adornment of them that have received mercy, the adornment of the Church ; wherein Jesus, the guileless one, shineth out as gold, and the fringes, made of gold, are the elect."

IN WHITE TRUE BEAUTY IS TO BE FOUND.

41. *Ibid.* p. 239. "Why is it then that ye are attracted by that which is rare and costly, rather than by that which is ready to your hand and of easy purchase ? It is because ye know not what is the truly beautiful, and the truly good ; and, in place of realities, bestow your pains upon what is esteemed only among men of no understanding, to whose imagination, as with men mad, white and black seem both alike."

TERTULLIAN.³⁸⁰

DYED COLOURS DISPLEASING TO GOD.

42. De Habitu Muliebris, cap. 8. "Quis est vestium honor justus de adulterio colorum inuictorum ? Non placet Deo quod non ipse produxit, nisi si non potuit purpureas et aerias³⁸¹ oves nasci jubere. Si potuit, ergo jam noluit : quod Deus noluit, utique non licet fingi."³⁸²

³⁷⁹ In this prophecy, Amalarius (quoted at p. 99) sees a reference to the dalmatic. The two comments, those of Clement and Amalarius, present an instructive contrast.

³⁸⁰ Born at Carthage, circ. A.D. 150. Embraced Christianity A.D. 185. Died A.D. 220. His middle life was spent partly at Rome, and

partly (at a later period) at Carthage.

³⁸¹ *Aerias*, i.e. of the colour of the sky.

³⁸² Whatever may be thought of the logic of this argument, the passage is good evidence as to the feeling of Tertullian in respect of the costly colours of which he is speaking.

DYED COLOURS MERETRICIOUS.

43. *Ibid.* p. 68. "Illa civitas valida quæ super montes septem et plurimas aquas præfidet, cum prostitutæ appellationem a Domino meruisset, quali habitu appellationis suæ comparata est? Sedet certe in purpura cum coccino et auro et lapide pretioso."

THE TRUE PURPLE OF THE CHRISTIAN MAN.

44. *De Corona Militis*, cap. 13. [He is addressing the Christian man as at once a soldier of Christ, and a citizen of the Jerusalem that is above.]

"Coronant et publicos ordines laureis publicæ causæ, magistratus vero insuper aureis. . . . Sed tui ordines et tui magistratus, et ipsum Curia³⁸³ nomen, Ecclesia est Christi. Illic purpuræ tuæ, Sanguis Domini; et clavus latus, in Cruce ipsius: illic securis,³⁸⁴ ad caudicem arboris posita: illic virgæ,³⁸⁵ ex radice Jesse."

APPENDIX B.

PASSAGES OF EARLY WRITERS INDICATIVE
OF A LEVITICAL ORIGIN FOR CHRISTIAN VESTMENTS.

The monuments, whether of literature or of art, during the first eight hundred years of Christian history, point with an overwhelming weight of concurrent testimony to the conclusion, that the vestments of Christian ministry were not modelled upon those of Levitical priesthood.

In all those monuments, as far as we have seen hitherto, there has been no indication of any but white³⁸⁶ vestments being worn; no trace anywhere

³⁸³ He alludes to the etymological connection between *Curia* and *κυριακή*.

³⁸⁴ This points probably to the blood that flowed from the pierced side.

³⁸⁵ *Securis*, and again *virgæ*, in allusion to the axe and rods borne by the lictors of the higher magistrates.

³⁸⁶ The only exception to this, of which I

am aware, is one of those exceptions "that prove the rule." We learn incidentally from a notice in the *Gesta Pontificum Romanorum*, quoted by Walafrid Strabo (p. 106), and by Anastasius, that attempts were made at Rome, in the pontificate of Sylvester (314-335), to introduce the use of coloured cloth, and of silk, in the vestments of Christian ministry. For

of any intentional imitation of the distinctive characteristics of the dress of Levitical priesthood, viz. the coloured girdle, and the priestly cap, of priests of the second order; the gorgeously coloured super-vestments, the jewelled "rational," the cap with its golden plate, worn by the high-priest.

But it is desirable to notice, and to give all due weight to, a few facts that may be alleged as pointing to an opposite conclusion. It should not be forgotten, in dealing with questions such as those now before us, that between the Aaronic priesthood and the priesthood of the Christian Church, there are many points of close analogy, though there are also points of important difference. These points of analogy, suggested as they are by many passages of Holy Scripture, were recognised from the very earliest times by ecclesiastical writers. One effect of this was, that titles, properly applicable to the older priesthood, were, sparingly at first, but with an ever-increasing freedom as time went on, applied to the several orders of the Christian ministry. And this being the case, it would be strange if we did not find here and there some recognition, in like manner, of certain features of analogy^{386 a} between the vestments of the Christian bishop or priest, and the Levitical vestments of the older Church.

Some³⁸⁷ passages, of the kind now spoken of, have already been quoted, and their language carefully considered. And I take this opportunity of adding thereto such other passages of early writers as might be thought to invalidate the general conclusions, as to the origin of Christian vestments, which have been set forth in the Introduction to this treatise.

1. The first in date occurs in the well-known sermon, or rather oration, pronounced by Eusebius of Cæsarea, at the opening of the great Church at Tyre, after the public recognition of Christianity by Constantine the Great. It is given at full length by its author in the tenth book of his Ecclesiastical History. Written in a style of florid rhetoric from first to last, the leading thought that pervades it is that of a comparison between the magnificent church, for the consecration of which they were assembled, and the Temple of Solomon. Addressing the Bishop of Tyre, Paulinus, the speaker knows not whether to regard him as a second Bezaleel, or as another Solomon, king of a new and better Jerusalem, or as the Zorobabel of their own day, crowning

Sylvester found it necessary to forbid their use. *Hic constituit ut sacrificium altaris non in serico neque in panno tincto celebraretur, nisi tantum in linteis ex tereno lino procreato, sicut corpus Domini Nostri Jesu Christi in sindone lintea munda sepulchrum est, et sic Missa celebraretur.* [Anastasii V. P. R. in S. Sylvestro, p. 105.] There are abundant proofs (especially in the notices preserved by Anastasius) of a vast accession to the splendour of divine service generally, at Rome and elsewhere, from the time of "the conversion of Constantine." But it is plain from this passage, and from the evidence of subsequent centuries, that little if any change

was then permitted in the simple but dignified dress of Christian ministry.

^{386 a} As in S. Germanus quoted above, p. 82, note 141. With his expression closely agrees, that of Martinus, Bishop of Braga (circ. 572 A.D.), in the collection known as the Capitula Martini Episcopi. Labbe, tom. v. p. 912, Canon lxvi. "Non oportet clericos comam nutrire, et sic ministrare, sed attonso capite, patentibus auribus; et secundum Aaron talarem vestem induere, ut sint in habitu ordinato."

³⁸⁷ See note 59, p. 37; note 62, p. 39; note 65, p. 41.

the temple of God with that glory, better than the former, which belongeth to these last times. And it is in accordance with this strain that he addresses the assembled clergy as "friends of God, and priests (*ἱερεῖς*) clad in the holy vesture that reacheth to the feet, and with the heavenly crown of glory, and with the unction of inspiration, and the priestly vesture of the Holy Spirit."³⁸⁸

Now I am free to confess that I can only understand these words as highly figurative throughout. The "sticharion," white and glistering, which was no doubt worn both by bishops and priests there assembled before him, was, in point of fact, a feature in common between the Jewish and the Christian dress. But precisely for the reason (so at least it seems to me) that in all the other, and more distinctive, features of the Jewish sacerdotal dress, *no counterpart was to be found in the actual dress of those before him*, he speaks of "the glory," and the "unction," and the "Holy Spirit," as spiritual robes, which the priesthood of the new covenant may rightly claim as their own.

But among modern writers there are some who see the matter in a very different light, and find in this passage proof that the bishops of that day wore mitres (*κιδάρεις*) or priestly caps, after the model of the Jewish priests, and had also sacerdotal robes modelled upon the same style.

I leave it to my readers to decide between the two interpretations.

2. Another passage, closely resembling this, is to be found in the fourth discourse of Gregory Nazianzen.³⁸⁹ The passage referred to is the following. He is addressing his father, then Bishop of Nazianzum, who had been desirous of associating his son with himself in the duties of the episcopal office, for which at his greatly advanced age he felt himself unequal. St. Gregory says, (referring to this), "Thou soughtest that a second Barnabas might be joined, as helper, to thyself a second Paul; that to Silvanus and Timotheus, a Titus also should be added, that so the gift of God that is in thee might have free course, by means of them that naturally have care for thee, and that from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum thou mightest fulfil the work of an evangelist." For this cause it is that thou bringest one forth, and settest him in the midst, and layest hold on him, though he would draw back, and settest him beside thyself ('This,' you will perhaps say, 'is my only wrong'); and makest him partaker both of the cares of thine office, and of its crowns. Therefore,³⁹⁰ it is that thou anointest the chief priest, and puttest about [him]

³⁸⁸ Ω φίλοι Θεοῦ καὶ ἱερεῖς, οἱ τὸν ἅγιον παῖδρα, καὶ τὸν οὐράνιον τῆς δόξης στίφανον, τό τε χρίσμα τὸ ἕνθεν, καὶ τὴν ἱερατικὴν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος στολὴν, περιβεβλημένοι. By *ἱερεῖς* here mentioned we should probably understand *bishops*. See note 61. The passage will be found in Euseb. H. E. lib. x. cap. 4.

³⁸⁹ Born A.D. 324, Bp. of Constantinople in 378, died in 389. See vol. i. of his collected works (Morell), p. 136, Oratio v. *in fin.*

³⁹⁰ The original is as follows. διὰ τοῦτο

εἰς μέσον ἄγεις, καὶ ὑπερχωρῶντος λαμβάνη, καὶ παρὰ σιαυτὸν καθίζεις. Τοῦτο τὸ μὲν ἀδίκημα, φαίης ἂν καὶ κοινὸν ποιῇ τῶν φροντῶν καὶ τῶν στίφάνων. διὰ τοῦτο χρεῖς τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα, καὶ περιβάλλεις τὸν παῖδρα, καὶ περιτίθεις τὸν κίδαριν, καὶ προσάγεις τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῆς πνευματικῆς ὁλοκαυτώσεως, καὶ θύεις τὸν μόσχον τῆς τελειώσεως, καὶ τελειοῖς τὰς χεῖρας τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ εἰσάγεις εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ἱποπτιώσοντα, καὶ ποιῇς λειτουργίαν τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς, ἣν ἔπηξεν ὁ Κύριος οὐκ ἀνθρώποισιν.

the (ποδήνη) priestly robe, and settest the priest's cap about his head, and bringest him unto the altar of the spiritual burnt sacrifice, and slayest the calf of consecration, and dost consecrate his hands with the spirit, and bringest him into the holy of holies, as one that shall see the hidden things of the Lord, and makest him a minister of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched and not man. But whether he ³⁹¹ be worthy both of you that anoint him, and of Him for whom, and unto whom, is that anointing, this He only knoweth who is the Father of the true 'anointed one' (Χριστός), whom He anointed with the oil of gladness above His fellows, bestowing upon humanity the unction of divinity, so as to make of these twain one."

Upon this passage I need add little to what I have said above upon the similar language of Eusebius. It is evident that many of the expressions (such as that of "*slaying the calf of consecration*"), cannot by any possibility be regarded as more than figurative phrases, drawn from the analogies of the rites of consecration under the Levitical law. And this fact is enough to mark the character of the whole passage. On the other hand, it is only right to say, that there is a strong probability that in pursuing this comparison into detail, as he does, the writer would fix upon such points in the older rites as had something analogous to them in Christian consecration. The "sticharion," or long white tunic of the Christian ministry, offered a point of comparison with the ποδήνης of Levitical ministry. And the mention of the κίδαρις which follows, would lead one to suppose that among the ministering vestments of St. Gregory's time, there might be something corresponding to the cap or mitre of the Levitical priest.

But the more direct evidence of antiquity points, as in the Introduction has been shown, to a directly opposite conclusion. And if St. Gregory really had present to his mind any episcopal vestment (so to call it), which he regarded as correspondent to the Levitical κίδαρις, I should suppose that it was either a close fitting skull-cap, such as that which Eusebius of Cæsarea is represented as wearing, in Pl. XXVII., or some such distinctive head-dress as that, with which, at a later time certainly, the *out-door dress* of bishops and patriarchs was distinguished.

Dr. Hefele, who has examined this question at some length, after referring briefly to the two passages above quoted, goes on to speak of the following passages, which he thinks point to an early use of a distinctive head-dress by Christian bishops.

3. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxix. cap. 5. He describes the submission of Firmus to Theodosius, the general sent into Mauritania against him. He says that, *Ne quid ultimæ rationis omitteret, Christiani ritus antistites oraturos pacem cum obsidibus misit*. These being kindly received, two days later, *militaria signa et coronam sacerdotalem cum cæteris quæ interceperat, nihil cunc-*

³⁹¹ St. Gregory is alluding throughout to himself, as the person who had been made bishop against his own wish. But he avoids

direct mention of himself in the first person.

tatus restituit, ut præceptum est. The historian, who writes about this *corona sacerdotalis* is himself a heathen; and it is in the highest degree improbable, even on this ground only, that he should use the term *sacerdotalis* thus absolutely in speaking of Christian bishop or priest. There can be little, if any, doubt, that this was one of those richer crowns, made of precious metal, which we know³⁹² to have been worn by the priests of some among the heathen gods.

4. Dr. Hefeles also lays great stress (but I venture to think, without strong ground for so doing) on passages³⁹³ in which the word *infula* occurs in connection with Christian vestments. According to classical usage one meaning of *infula* undoubtedly was that of a long band, made either of linen or of wool, which was fastened about the head of priests, or hung round the neck, or the body, of victims³⁹⁴ to be offered in sacrifice. But the word was not confined to this meaning, but was often used of the insignia of imperial or magisterial rank, and had nearly the meaning (in some instances) of an "official vestment," context alone determining what the nature of that vestment might be. And I am confirmed in the belief that, in the passages quoted by Dr. Hefeles, *infula* has this wider meaning, by finding most certain proof that, even as late as the twelfth century, the word was used as a synonym for the *casula* or *planeta*. (See note 268, *in fn.* p. 133.)

5. Another passage is quoted from Ennodius, a Christian poet (his Christianity better than his poetry, we may charitably hope, after reading the lines that follow). He wrote about the close of the fifth century. Speaking in praise of St. Ambrose, he expresses himself as follows [Epiq. 77]:

*Rosida regifico cui fulsit murice lingua,
Vere suo pingens germina quæ voluit.
Serta redimitus gestabat lucida fronte;
Distinctum gemmis ore parabat opus.*

Dr. Hefeles quotes the third line of this passage, without its context, as

³⁹² See, e.g. the quotation from Tertullian, *De Cor. Mil. supra*, p. xiv.

³⁹³ Such are Prudentius Clemens, *Peristephanon*, iv. 9. He is singing the praises of the city of Saragossa (Cæsar-Augusta), and of the martyrs of whom it could boast. He adds, "*Hinc sacerdotum domus infulata Valeriorum.*" He writes about the year 400 A.D., and refers in these words to Valerius, Bp. of Saragossa, and to others of the same family.

Again, Pope Gelasius speaks in one of his letters of a bishop as being *clericalibus infulis reprobabilis* (unworthy to wear the dress of a cleric). Here the use of the plural confirms the interpretation given above.

In like manner in a life of St. Willibald,

written in the eighth century, his consecration as bishop is spoken of as the time when he had bestowed upon him *sacerdotalis infule honorem*.

And St. Boniface (note 209, p. 106) is represented (in a biography dating from the eleventh century) as writing to the Bishop of Rome concerning Burchard of Wurzburg, to say that he was *pontificali infula dignus*.

³⁹⁴ See, for example, Pl. III., where the bull, being led away for slaughter, has such *infule* hung about him:

Stans hostia ad aram,
Lancea dum nivea circumdatur infula vitta.
Virg.

a proof that bishops in the days of St. Ambrose wore a distinctive head-dress.³⁹⁵ But a moment's reference to the context is sufficient to show how entirely ungrounded is such an inference.^{395a} Throughout these lines it is of the eloquence of St. Ambrose that Ennodius is speaking; and the "*bright garlands which crowned his brow*," are no more to be taken literally, than is the "*royal purple*," with which "*his tongue glowed*," or the "*work bedecked with jewels*," which he "*fashioned with his lips*."

Other authorities quoted by Martene in support of the antiquity of the episcopal "*mitra*," are the following:

6. Theodulfus, Bishop of Orleans, writing *circ.* A.D. 800, is describing the "*Ornamenta Pontificis*" (so Martene writes), and employs the following expression (lib. iii. carm. 5):

Illius ergo caput resplendens mitra tegebat.

In this, Martene sees proof of the early use of the mitre by Christian bishops. This, again, is a curious instance of the mistakes to which even men of great learning are liable, when they quote, without reference to context, single lines, or it may be half-sentences, out of ancient authors, in support of preconceived conclusions.

The quotation is from lib. v. carm. 3 (Sirmondi Opera, ii. p. 1106), part of a poem called *Parænesis ad Episcopos*, written by Theodulph while yet a deacon (*Parva sed in magna cum sim Levitide turba Pars*, is his expression in referring to himself). In the poem, as it stands in the edition of Sirmondus, the order of the verses has evidently become confused. But there is a long passage in which a comparison is made between the outward splendour of the *pontifex*, or Jewish high-priest, and the ornament of diverse virtues which should be conspicuous in the Christian "*pontifex*," or bishop.

*Illius insignis radiabat lumine vestis,
Blanditasque hominum visibus illa dabat:
At tibi virtutum dent ornamenta decorem,
Atque oculis cordis, qua potes, usque fave.
Illi erat in sacro pollens reverentia cultu,
Et decus in habitu pontificalis opis.
Sancta est in sancta tibimet reverentia Matre,
Et vitæ studiis, actibus inque piis.
Aurea Pontificis cingebat lamina frontem,
Qua bis binus apex Nomen Herile dabat.
At tibi frons mentis cingatur sensibus almis,
Christum Evangelico vox et ab ore sonet.
Sint manifesti actus Fidei, probitatis, et æqui,
Qui sit virtutum quattuor ordo tibi.*

³⁹⁵ Beiträge, u. s. w. p. 227. *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus.* Dr. Hefele's criticism is generally very accurate, and very unprejudiced, as far as I have had opportunities of judging. The passage here commented

upon must not be regarded as a typical specimen of the author, but quite the reverse.

^{395a} So Hugo Menardus pointed out long ago. See his notes to the Sacramentary of St. Gregory, p. 363.

Then after about hundred lines come in the two following verses, in a context to which they have no reference whatever :

*Illius ergo caput resplendens mitra tegebat :
Contegat et (at ?) mentem jus pietasque tuam.*

So far from proving, as Martene thought, the use of an episcopal mitre in France at the close of the eighth century, the evidence of this passage (when examined with its context) points, as will now be seen, to a directly opposite conclusion. The lines I have quoted are nothing more than a reproduction, in Latin verses, such as were written in those times, of the language of Venerable Bede, quoted in p. 78, and commented on in the Introduction. And Theodulphus probably owed the idea, which he has here amplified, to the same source as did Bede, viz, to the prayer used in the consecration of bishops, quoted above, Introd. note 1, p. li.

It is instructive, on many accounts, to the student of antiquity, to see in the examples above given, how plausible a case may be made out in favour of any preconceived conclusion, by dint of mutilated quotations set forth without reference to context. Instructive, too, to mark (I am obliged to add), how little weight should be given, in disputed questions such as these, to the reputation, even though deserved, of great and varied learning, on the part of those who write concerning them. Erudition, such as that of Edmond Martene ; accurate scholarship, thorough impartiality, careful research, such as are conspicuous in Dr. Hefele ; may all be employed in laboriously building up arguments, which fall to the ground, as in a moment, when the witnesses, to whom they appeal, are allowed to tell their own tale in full.

I say this of archæologists, to whom it applies in some measure. But I commend the remark to theologians, to whom, unfortunately, it applies much more.

APPENDIX C.

PASSAGES FROM ANCIENT AUTHORS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF THE PÆNULA, CASULA, AND PLANETA.

PART I. THE PÆNULA.

1. Plautus (born *circ.* 254 B.C.), *Moss.* iv. 11, 74. [Theuropides says, angrily, to a slave with whom he is displeased] :

Famne abis ? Libertas pænula est tergo tuo.

"It is only that big cloak of yours that saves your back." Literally, Thy *pænula* is liberty (*i.e.* the privileges of a free man) to thy back.

2. Lucilius (born B.C. 148), *Sat. lib. xv. Fr. 6.*

*Pænula, si quæris, cantherius, servus, segestre,
Utilior mihi, quam sapiens.*

3. Cicero (born 106 B.C.), *Pro Milone*. He is showing from the mode in which Milo travelled that he could not have set out with the intention of attacking Clodius. He states (p. 524, 20) that while Clodius (really bent on violence) had left the city *expeditus, in equo, nulla rheda, nullis impedimentis*, Milo, on the contrary (who had been falsely accused of treacherous and intended violence) "*cum uxore veheretur in rheda pænulatus*." Accordingly, as soon as the followers of Milo attacked him, the first thing he did was *rejicere pænulam*, which, by its form and its weight, confined his arms and prevented his defending himself. *Cum hic (sc. Milo) de rheda, rejecta pænula, defilisset, seque acri animo defenderet.* And these circumstances, he argues (p. 518, 40), proved of themselves, "*Uter esset infidiator, uter nihil cogitaret mali; cum alter veheretur in rheda pænulatus, una federet uxor. Quid horum non impeditissimum, vestitus (sc. pænula) an vehiculum, an comes? Quid minus promptum ad pugnam, cum pænula irretitus*" (entangled in his *pænula* as in a net), *rheda impeditus, uxore pene constrictus esset?*"

4. From another passage, *pro P. Sestio*, p. 444 (70), we learn that a rough *pænula* was commonly worn by mule-drivers, and the like.

"*Senfit rusticulus . . . suum sanguinem quæri . . . mulioniam pænulam arripuit, cum qua primum Romam ad comitia venerat, mefforia se corbe contextit.*"

5. From its being commonly worn in travelling, *pænulam attingere alicui* seems to have been a proverbial phrase, for what we should call "keeping a man by the button."

Cic. Ad Atticum, lib. vi. p. 288 (113). *Paullo post C. Capito cum T. Carriate. Horum ego vix attigi pænulam, et tamen remanserunt.* And to the same effect just before: "*De Varrone loquebamur. Lupus in fabula*" ("Talk of the devil!"), "*venit enim ad me, et quidem id temporis ut retinendus esset. Sed ego ita egi ut non scinderem pænulam.*" In other words, he was not *over pressing* in his expressions of civility, when he inquired whether he would not stay. He did not "tear his cloak" rather than let him go.

6. Varro (born B.C. 82), *apud Nonnium*, 14, n. 3.

"Non quærenda est homini, qui habet virtutem, *pænula* in imbri."

7. Horace (born 65 B.C.), 1 Ep. xi. 18.

*Incolumi Rhodos, aut Mitylene pulchra facit, quod
Pænula solstitio, campestre nivalibus auris.*

"If not compelled to live at Rhodes, or at Mitylene, by ill health, a man would no more take up his abode there for good, than he would wear a thick cloak, such as the *pænula*, at midsummer, or the drefs of the exercise ground (scarcely to be called drefs) in midwinter."

8. Seneca (born 61 B.C.) *Epist.* lxxxvii. He is describing a little riding tour which he had taken with his friend Maximus, and the manner in which they bivouacked.

Culcita (a mattrafs) *in terra jacet, ego in culcita. Ex duabus pænullis altera stragulum, altera opertorium facta est.*

"One *pænula* served the purpose of a blanket under him; the other that of a coverlet to throw over him."

9. *Martial* (43 to 104 A.D.) To him, writing at Rome towards the close of the first century of our era, *pænulatus* is an epithet implying a position below that of a gentleman; while *togatus* (see above, p. 177, No. 9) means a "needy gentleman," one not altogether independent of others, and obliged therefore to pay ceremonious court to the rich and influential, to whom he is under obligation. *Epig.* lib. v. 27.

*Quod Alpha dixi, Cedre, penulatorum
Te nuper, aliqua cum jocularer in charta;
Si forte bilem movit hic tibi versus,
Dicat licebit Beta me togatorum.*

10. But people of all ranks would wear a *pænula* (as we should carry an umbrella) when on a journey. Hence the allusion in the following lines, where "*scortea*" means a rough *pænula* made of sheep-skin or the like. Compare No. 7:

*Ingrediare viam cælo licet usque sereno,
Ad subitas nunquam scortea desit aquas.*

11. Another kind of *pænula* known as *gausapina* was of fine and white wool, and so handsome withal, that people who were vain of their drefs are represented as wishing for cold weather *that they might have an excuse for wearing them.*

*Et dolet et queritur sibi non contingere frigus,
Propter sexcentas Baccara gausapinas.*

Epig. lib. vi. 59.

Pænula gausapina.

*Is mihi candor inest, villorum gratia tanta est,
Ut me vel media sumere messe velis.*

Epig. lib. xiv. 145.

12. *Juvenal* (writing *circ.* 100 A.D.) *Sat.* v.

*Scilicet hoc fuerat, propter quod sæpe relicta
Conjuge, per montem adversum gelidasque cucurri
Esquilias, fremeret læva cum grandine vernus
Jupiter, et multo stillaret pænula nimbo.*

13. Emperor Adrian (Imp. 117 to 138 A.D.). *Lampridius* in *Adriano*. "Tribunus plebis factus est, in quo magistratu ad perpetuam tribunitiam po-

testatem (*i.e.*, to imperial power) omen sibi factum asserit, quod pænulas amiserit, quibus uti Tribuni plebis pluviae tempore solebant, Imperatores autem nunquam. Unde hodieque Imperatores sine penulis ac togati videntur."

14. Emperor Commodus (Imp. 180 to 192 A.D.) Lampridius in *Commodo*. [He is speaking of a show of gladiators (*munus*) exhibited in the circus.] "Ipse prodigium non leve sibi fecit. Nam cum in gladiatoris occisi vulnere manum misisset, ad caput sibi deterfit; et contra consuetudinem pænulatos iussit Senatores, non togatos, ad munus convenire, quod in funeribus solebat, ipse in pullis vestimentis praesidens."

15. Emperor Alexander Severus (Imp. 222 to 235). Lampridius in *Alexandro*. "Pænulis intra urbem frigoris causa ut Senatores uterentur permisit." *Ibid.* "Matronas intra urbem pænulis ubi vetuit, in itinere permisit."

16. Julius Pollux, tom. ii. lib. vii. cap. 13, p. 729. [*Floruit circa* 185 A.D.] ἡ δὲ μανδύη ὁμοίον τι τῷ καλουμένῳ φαινόλῃ· τίνων δὲ ἐστίν, ὥς μὴ περιεχόμεθα (*fort.* περιεχόμεθα, Salmas. vel περιερχόμεθα, *i.e.*, ne oberremus Kuhn), Κρήσσαις ἢ Πέρσαις Αἰσχύλος ἐρεῖ· Διβυρηνικῆς μίμημα μανδύης χιτὼν· Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ φαινόλης³⁹⁶ ἐστὶν ἐν Πίνθαρος Ἰφιγενείᾳ τῇ ἐν Ταύροις· ἐχούσῃ (*leg.* ἔχουσα) καινὰν φαινόλῃαν.³⁹⁷

From this passage we learn that the Greek *pænula* in the second century was somewhat like in shape to the *μανδύη* (note 153). This agrees with what we have already quoted from Artemidorus (*supra*, Appendix A, No. 11 ε, p. 180). We learn, too, that the *φαινόλη* was as old, at least, as the time of Rhinthon (*circ.* 320 B.C.). But there are reasons for thinking that it was very much older than this.³⁹⁸

17. Tertullian (died *circ.* 230 A.D.) *De Oratore*, cap. 12 (tom. iv. p. 14). [He had been speaking of the superstitious use of various ablutions practised by some in his time, and saying that "*fatis mundæ sunt manus, quas cum toto corpore in Christo semel lavimus*" (his thought being of John, xiii. 10). He follows out his subject as follows:]

"Sed quoniam unum aliquod attigimus vacuæ observationis, non pigebit

³⁹⁶ Compare also the expression used in the *Dialogus de causis corruptæ eloquentiæ* (probably Quintilian's). *Quantum humilitatis putamus eloquentiæ attulisse pænulas istas, quibus adstricti ac veluti inclusi, cum iudicibus fabulamur?*

³⁹⁷ We have here two forms, *φαινόλης* and *φαινόλη* (here quoted from Rhinthon, a dramatic poet, in its Doric form *φαινόλα*). In the older Greek, the feminine form *φαινόλη* was used in speaking of the finer and lighter garment worn by women, the masculine *φαινόλης* of that worn by men. The later

Byzantine Greek, obliterating, as was its wont, these finer distinctions, merged them both in the neuter *φαινόλιον*.

³⁹⁸ Tertullian states (Apolog. adv. Gentes) that the pænula was "invented" by the Lacedæmonians, to enable them, as spectators, to enjoy, even in cold weather, the spectacles of the stadium. *Ne voluptas impudica frigeret, Lacedæmonii pænulam ludis excogitarunt*. But an unsupported statement of this kind does not carry much weight.

cetera quoque denotare, quibus merito vanitas exprobranda est, siquidem sine ullius aut Dominici aut Apostolici præcepti auctoritate fiunt. Hujusmodi enim non religioni sed superstitioni deputantur, affectata et coacta, et curiosi potius quam rationalis officii, certe vel eo coercenda, quod gentilibus adæquent. Ut est quorundam positus pænulis orationem facere: sic enim adeunt ad idola nationes. Quod utique si fieri oporteret, Apostoli, qui de habitu orandi docent, comprehendissent; nisi si qui putant³⁹⁹ Paulum pænulam suam in oratione penes Carpum reliquisse. Deus scilicet non audiat pænulatos; qui tres sanctos in fornace Babylonii regis orantes cum Sarabaris et Tiaris suis exaudivit."

[This is a very instructive passage concerning the Pænula. From it we learn that heathen worshippers, in Tertullian's time, thought it indecorous to wear a Pænula when engaged in public prayer, that on such occasions therefore they put them off. We learn, too, that many Christians had adopted the same custom, and that such scruples were regarded by Tertullian as favouring of superstition rather than of religion. He then puts it as an absurd (note 399) supposition, which some might possibly adopt, that St. Paul lost his Pænula in consequence of his taking it off when about to engage in prayer at the house of Carpus. As to St. Paul's Pænula being itself a "sacrificial vestment," it is evident that such an idea had never entered Tertullian's head. No one having any real acquaintance with antiquity could suppose so now. The "superstition," in Tertullian's time, was that of supposing that it was such a garment as none could fitly appear in church at all.

18. From another passage of Tertullian (*De Cor. Mil.* p. 346) we find that, in his time, the Pænula was worn by soldiers, not of course when actively engaged (compare No. 3), but much as our own soldiers wear "great-coats" for protection against the weather. He is speaking of a Christian soldier, who had refused to wear the *corona* of heathen sacrificial rites. *Reus ad præfectos. Ibidem gravissimas pænulas posuit, relevari auspicatus.* A similar use of the Pænula by soldiers appears in a passage of Suetonius (in Galba). Speaking of Ser. Sulpicius Galba (afterwards emperor) in the year 45 A.D., he says, "A Caio Cæsare Gætulico substitutus, postmodum quam ad legiones venit, sollenni forte spectaculo plaudentes inhibuit, data tessera ut manus pænulis continerent."

19. St. Jerome, ad *Damasum*, Epist. cxxv. 9, 2. "Volumen⁴⁰⁰ Hebræum replico, quod Paulus *φαιλόνην* juxta quosdam vocat." [Compare No. 21, below.]

20. *Ibid.* in 2, Epist. ad Timoth. iv. 13.⁴⁰¹ "Pænulam quam reliqui, &c. Non dixit pænulam meam: potuit enim conversus aliquis, ad pedes ejus, inter cætera, impofuisse vendendum." [Ed. Benedict. vol. v. p. 1100.] *He supposes*

³⁹⁹ *Nisi si qui putant.* This is a formula with which Tertullian introduces a hypothesis, the absurdity of which he deems to be self-evident. Compare the passage quoted above, Appendix A, No. 42, *nisi si non potuit Deus* etc.

⁴⁰⁰ He uses the words *volumen* and *replico* in their technical sense. See note 79, p. 50.

See, too, the words of Theodoret (on 2 Tim. iv. 13) quoted under No. 21, note 403.

⁴⁰¹ This commentary on 2 Ep. Tim. is regarded as spurious by the Benedictine editors. But the authorship is not, to the present question, a matter of primary importance.

that this Pænula may have been brought by some convert, as a superfluity of which to make an offering to God, "laying it at the apostles' feet" (Acts, iv. 35), that it might afterwards be sold, and the proceeds made use of as St. Paul should think fit.

21. St. John Chrysostom (born *circ.* 347, died 407 A.D.) Tom. xi. p. 780 A, in 2 Tim. iv. 13. Τὸν φιλόνην ὃν ἀπέλιπον ἐν Τρώαδι παρὰ Κάρπῳ, ἐρχόμενος φέρε, καὶ τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας. Φιλόνην ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἱμάτιον λέγει. Τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον,⁴⁰² ἔνθα τὰ βιβλία ἔκειτο. Τί δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν βιβλίων ἔδει μέλλοντι ἀποδημεῖν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν; Καὶ μάλιστα ἔδει, ὥστε αὐτὰ τοῖς πιστοῖς παραθῆσθαι, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας ἔχειν αὐτά . . . Τὸν δὲ φιλόνην ζητεῖ ὥστε μὴ δεηθῆναι παρ' ἐτέρου λαβεῖν.

"By the word *φιλόνης*, here used, is meant the outer garment so called. But some think that it was the case (*capsa*) in which lay the Books.⁴⁰³ But for what could he need these Books, when he was about to depart hence unto God? Nay, he had in truth the greatest need of them, that so he might commit them into the hands of the faithful, to be to them in place of his own teaching. . . . And his inquiring for this cloak was for this cause, that he might not need to receive one (as a gift) from some other. For thou seest that this is a matter about which he is specially careful, saying, as he does, in another place, when discoursing to them of Ephesus, *Ye know that these my hands did minister to my necessities, and to them that were with me.* And again, *It is blessed to give rather than to receive.*"

It is evident from the above that St. Chrysostom regarded the *φιλόνης* of St. Paul as an ordinary ἱμάτιον; and that the *membranæ*, or parchments, were in his judgment MSS. containing St. Paul's own teaching.

22. The Theodosian Code, published in 438 A.D., and that simultaneously for the Eastern and the Western empire, furnishes us with an important indication of the changed use of the Pænula established by that time. In lib. i. *De Habitu*, we read as follows:

"Nullus senatorum habitum sibi vindicet militarem, sed chlamydis terrore deposito, quietia colobiorum ac pænularum induat vestimenta. . . . officiales quoque per quos statuta complentur ac necessaria peraguntur, uti quidem pænulis jubemus, verum interiorem vestem admodum cingulis observare."

The chlamys being (note 142) a military garb, is unsuited for senators when at Rome. In earlier times their proper garb would have been the *tunica laticlavata* and the *toga*. The corresponding vestments are now (fifth century) the *colobium* and *pænula*.

⁴⁰² That is a case for books, such, perhaps, as is represented in Pl. XII., XIV.

⁴⁰³ For this interpretation of τὰς μεμβράνας, compare Theodoret on this passage. He follows St. Chrysostom closely as was his wont. Μεμβράνας τὰ εἰλητὰ κέκληται. (εἰλητὸν i.e.

volumen) οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι τὰ δέματα. Ἐν εἰλητοῖς δὲ ἔχον πάσαι τὰς θείας γραφάς. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ μίχοι τοῦ παρόντος ἔχουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. [This may be said with truth of the Jews even to the present day.]

23. St. Isidore of Seville, *circ.* 600 A.D. See the quotation at p. 72 and note 130 *in loc.* This passage, however, does not prove any *contemporary* usage of the word *Pænula*, either in Spain or in other parts of the West. For the gloss in question is simply transferred (as was St. Isidore's wont) *totidem verbis* from a *vetus interpres* on Perfius.

24. St. Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, *circ.* 715 A.D. See his words quoted at p. 84, l. 4. From another mention of the *Phænolion* at p. 86, l. 1, we learn that in the eighth century, at Constantinople, if not elsewhere, this vestment was either of a purple or a scarlet colour, or at least of a colour which served to recall the "scarlet (or purple) robe" put in mockery upon our Lord.

25. Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople writes (in the year 811) to Leo III., *inter alia* :

"In signum mediatricis inter nos in Domino dilectionis, misimus vestræ fraternæ beatitudini encolpion⁴⁰⁴ aureum, cujus una facies cristallum inclusum, altera picta nigello⁴⁰⁴ est, et intus habet alterum encolpion, in quo sunt partes honorandi ligni in figura Crucis positi: tunicam candidam, et pænulam castaneam inconsutilem (*leg.* inconsutiles); stolam et femicinctium,⁴⁰⁵ auro variata."

The word *pænula*, here used, represents the *φαινόλης* (or more probably *φαινόλιον*) of the original text. The description of this *φαινόλιον* as *ἀρραφον* (*inconsutiles*) may be regarded as probably pointing to those words of St. John, *ἔν δὲ ὁ χιτῶν ἄραφος* (*al.* ἀρραφος) ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ὑφαντὸς δι' ὅλου.

PART II. THE CASULA.

26. The earliest notices of the Casula are two following from St. Augustine (born 354, died 430).

THE CASULA AS AN OUT-DOOR DRESS FOR WORKING MEN, *circ.* 350 A.D.

a. De Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. cap. 8, § 9. "Erat quidam senex Florentius, Hipponensis noster, homo religiosus et pauper; fartoris se arte pascebat. Casulam perdiderat, et unde sibi emeret non habebat. Ad⁴⁰⁶ Viginti Martyres, quorum

⁴⁰⁴ δι' ἐγκαύσεως. Enamelling. Baronius edits the letter from the Latin of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. The original Greek text will be found in Harduin's *Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 1000.

⁴⁰⁵ ἐγχρίσιον. A handkerchief. Here, probably, something resembling the *sudarium* or *mappula* of the Latin Church. *Stola* is here used as the Latin rendering of *ἐπιστραχήλιον*, which corresponded (see note 144 p. 84) to the Orarium or Stola of the West.

⁴⁰⁶ Ad viginti, &c. "At the chapel of the twenty Martyrs." The word "memoria," which follows is here used in its technical sense of a "memorial chapel," or church. St. Augustine's Sermon CCCXXV. is on the "birthday" (day of martyrdom) of these "twenty martyrs," whose number "cepit ab Episcopo Fidentio, clausit ad fidelem feminam sanctam Victoriam. Initium a fide. Finis ad victoriam."

memoria apud nos est celeberrima, clara voce, ut vestiretur, oravit. Audierunt eum adolescentes, qui forte aderant, irrisores; eumque discedentem exagitantés prosequébantur, quasi a Martyribus quinquagenos folles, unde vestimentum emeret, petivisset. At ille tacitus ambulans ejectum grandem piscem palpitantem vidit in littore, eumque illis faventibus atque adjuvantibus apprehendit, et cuidam coquo, Catofo nomine, bene Christiano, ad coquinam conditariam, indicans quid gestum sit, trecentis follibus vendidit; lanam comparare inde disponens, ut uxor ejus, quomodo possët, ei, quo indueretur, efficeret. Sed coquus, concidens piscem, anulum aureum in ventriculo ejus invenit; moxque miseratione flexus, et relligione perterritus, homini eum reddidit, dicens, Ecce quomodo Viginti Martyres te vestierunt."

THE CASULA AN ORDINARY OUT-DOOR GARB, *circ.* 400 A.D.

27. *β. Ibid.* Sermo CVII. cap. 5 (tom. v. p. 530). "Quid est iniquius homine qui multa bona habere vult, et bonus ipse esse non vult? Indignus es qui habeas, qui non vis esse quod vis habere. Numquid enim vis habere villam malam? Non utique, sed bonam. Numquid uxorem malam? Non, sed bonam. Numquid denique casulam malam? Numquid vel caligam malam? Quare animam solum malam?"

THE CASULA WORN BY MONKS (AND BY BISHOPS IN MONASTIC LIFE),
circ. 500 A.D.

28. Of Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspa (*circ.* 507), his disciple and biographer Ferrandus writes as follows, l. 18 (*apud Thomassinum, Vet. et Nov. Ecc. Disc.* lib. ii. cap. 47):

"Nunquam pretiosa vestimenta quæfivit: una tantum vilissima tunica, five per æstatem, five per hiemem, est patienter indutus. Orario quidem sicut omnes episcopi nullatenus utebatur. Pellicio cingulo (note 74) tanquam monachus utebatur Casulam pretiosam vel superbi coloris nec ipse habuit, nec suos monachos habere permisit.⁴⁰⁷ In qua tunica dormiebat in ipsa sacrificabat; et in tempore sacrificii mutanda esse corda potius quam vestimenta dicebat."

A CASULA WORN (AS A CLOAK) BY AN ARCHBISHOP.

29. Extracts from the last will and testament of S. Cæsarius, Archbishop

⁴⁰⁷ Compare what is said, by Ven. Bede, of S. Cuthbert and the monks of Lindisfarne (Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. 16, Bedæ Opera, tom. iv. p. 262). "Vestimentis utebatur communibus, ita temperanter agens, ut horum neque munditiis neque fordibus esset notabilis. Unde

usque hodie in eodem monasterio exemplo ejus observatur, ne quis varii aut pretiosi coloris habeat indumentum, sed ea maxime vestium specie sint contenti, quam naturalis ovium lana (note 3, p. xviii) ministrat."

of Arles, † 540. [A copy of this will was obtained for Baronius, from the archives preserved at Arles. See the *Annal.* tom. vi. p. 602, §qq.] “Sancto et domino meo archiepiscopo, qui mihi indigno digne fuisse fecerit, licet omnia in sua potestate sint, tamen, si lubet, et dignum ducit, indumenta paschalia⁴⁰⁸ quæ mihi data sunt, omnia illi serviant, simul cum casula villosa⁴⁰⁹ et tunica vel galnape quod melius dimisero. Reliqua vero vestimenta mea, excepto birro amiculari, mei tam clerici quam laici, cum gratia vel ordinatione domini archiepiscopi, sibi ipso iubente, immo donante, dividant.”

30. [In the life of the same Archbishop Cæsarius, we find mention of his wearing a Casula both in his ordinary walks about the city, and in processions.] “Ambulans per plateam civitatis, vidit contra in foro hominem qui a dæmonio agebatur. In quem cum attendisset, *habens manum sub casula, ut a suis non videretur, crucem contra eum fecit.*” And again:

31. Lib. ii. cap. 19. [A poor man begs of him, and the bishop having no money to give him] “*casulam qua in processionibus utebatur, et albam paschalem*⁴⁰⁸ profert, datque egeno, jubetque ut vendat uni ex clero.”

THE CASULA A DRESS FOR PEASANTS, *circ.* 530 A.D.

32. Procopius (Fl. *circa* 530 A.D.) *De Bello Vandalico*, lib. ii. cap. 26. He is describing the abject submission of Arcobindus when defeated by Gontharis. He speaks of him as *ιμάτιον ἀμπεχόμενος οὔτε στρατηγῶ οὔτε ἄλλῳ στρατευομένῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτηδείως ἔχον, ἀλλὰ δούλῳ καὶ ἰδιώτῃ παντάπασιν πρέπον, Κασοῦλαν αὐτὸ τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.*⁴¹⁰

CASULA AS AN OUT-DOOR DRESS AT ROME, *circ.* 600 A.D.

33. *S. Gregorii Vita* a Joanne Diacono conscripta, lib. iv. cap. 63. The biographer quotes a story of St. Gregory told by Abbot John, a Persian. “Olim ivi Romam ad adorandum loculos sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli: et una dierum cum stare in medio civitatis, video Papam Gregorium per (prope?) me transiturum: et cogitavi me mittere ante eum. Cum ergo appropinquasset mihi Papa, videns quia pergerem ut mitterem me ante eum,⁴¹¹ sicut coram Deo dico, fratres, primus misit se ante me super terram: et non

⁴⁰⁸ By the *alba paschalis*, here mentioned, we are probably to understand an alb of some more than usually rich material to be used at the Easter festival. Dr. Hefele, however, interprets the parallel expression *indumenta paschalia*, (*supra*, No. 29) as “Sonntagsgewänder.” I can hardly suppose this to be correct.

⁴⁰⁹ Dr. Hefele observes (D. L. G. p. 196) that this *casula villosa*, or long-napped cloak, is here distinguished from the *indumenta paschalia*

(note 409), and is a garment for out-door wear, not an ecclesiastical “vestment,” properly so called.

⁴¹⁰ Procopius evidently considers the *casula* to be a garb fit only for peasants. It is assumed on this occasion as a *vestis sordida*, in token of abject humility and subjection.

⁴¹¹ *Me mittere ad eum*, i.e., “bowing himself to the ground before him,” as is the wont of Eastern people.

ante surrexit, quam ego prior surgerem; et amplexatus me cum multa humilitate, tribuit mihi per manum numismata tria: et iussit mihi dari casulam et necessitates meas omnes."

A CASULA SENT AS A PRESENT TO A KING.

34. Bonifacii III. PP. Epist. iii. (*apud O. Ferrarium*, D. R. V. p. 685,) A.D. 606. "Litteras et munuscula parva transmittito vobis, id est, Casulam non holosericam, sed caprina lanugine mistam, et villosam, ad tergendos pedes ⁴¹⁴ dilectionis vestrae."

35. St. Isidore, *Hisp. De Originibus*, lib. xix. (quoted above, at p. 74), circ. A.D. 620. He does not mention the Casula as in any way a sacred vestment, but merely describes it as a *vestis cucullata*.

A CASULA THE OUT-DOOR DRESS OF THE CLERGY.

36. Concilium Germanicum I. Celebratum xi. Kal. Mai, A.D. 742. Sub Carlemano Majore Domus Regiæ, auctoritate S. Bonifacii, Can. vii. "Decrevimus ⁴¹⁵ quoque ut presbyteri vel diaconi non sagis laicorum more, sed casulis utantur, ritu fervorum ⁴¹⁶ Dei." [Labbe, Concil. tom. vi. p. 1533, sqq.]

37. To the passages above given may be added a reference to a singular fragment, illustrating the old Gallican use, and which may possibly date from the eighth ⁴¹⁷ century, though it would seem to belong rather to the ninth. See Appendix E. The second paragraph, there quoted, contains not only a

⁴¹⁴ This letter is addressed to king Pepin. It is difficult to understand how a casula should be used *ad tergendos pedes*. Either therefore *villosa* must here be taken as a virtual substantive (compare *linea*, *alba*, *gaulapina*, *scortea*), or we must suppose some word such as *mappam* to have been dropped.

⁴¹⁵ It is worth noting as a characteristic feature of these times, that the decrees of this Council issue in the name of "Ego Carlomanus Dux et Princeps Francorum," acting "*cum consilio fervorum Dei et optimatum meorum*;" and in pursuance of such counsel, decreeing (*statuimus*) that synods should be held, yearly, "*ita ut nobis presentibus canonum decreta et ecclesiæ jura restaurentur, et religio Christiana emendeur.*"

⁴¹⁶ In speaking of the Casula as befitting those who are "*servi*" of God, St. Boniface may not improbably have had in view the lowly origin of this garb, as worn by peasants and by monks. The *sagum*, which presbyters and deacons in Germany are forbidden to

wear, is the short military cloak which in the eighth century had come into general secular use. Some (as Dr. Hefele) understand the words *ritu fervorum Dei* to mean "as do monks." But in the Preface, quoted in note ⁴¹⁵, the words evidently are used of "the clergy."

⁴¹⁷ There is mention made of the *casula* as the vestment of a presbyter in the Sacramentary of St. Gregory, and from this some writers have carelessly inferred that the casula must in his time, i.e., circ. 600 A.D., have been recognised as a vestment of Christian ministry. But, as Professor Hefele remarks, the Sacramentary proves nothing of the kind, seeing that it dates, in its present form, from a period considerably later than St. Gregory, probably not earlier than the ninth century. The words occur in the *Ordatio Presbyteri*, p. 238, when, just before the blessing is conferred, the direction following is given: *Hic vestis et casulam*, i.e. At this point thou art to invest him with the chasuble.

reference to the Chafuble as a vestment of holy ministration, but a description of its form. *Casula* . . . *sine manicis, unita prinsecus, non scissa non aperta*. See p. 204, below.

PLANETA TOO COSTLY TO BE WORN BY MONKS.

38. Cassianus (*circ.* 418 A.D.) *De Habitu Monachorum*, lib. i. cap. 7. "Post hæc angusto palliolo tam amictus humilitatem, quam vilitatem pretii compendiumque sectantes, colla pariter atque humeros tegunt quæ mafortes tam nostro quam ipforum nuncupantur eloquio, et ita Planeticarum simul atque birrorum (note *w*, p. lvi) pretia simul et ambitionem declinant."

THE PLANETA WORN BY LAYMEN OF RANK.

39. Vita S. Fulgentii († 533) *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Januar. p. 43. [The writer, Nolanus, a contemporary of Fulgentius, is describing the return of Fulgentius to Carthage after his exile.] "Tantum fides Nobilium crevit, ut Planetis suis super B. Fulgentium gratanter expansis, repellerent imbres, et novum tabernaculi genus artificiosa caritate componerent."

PLANETA WORN BY THE ATTENDANTS OF A BISHOP OF ROME.

40. Joan. Diac. Vita D. Gregorii, lib. ii. cap. 43. [The writer is speaking of a plot laid by certain forcerers (*magi*) to throw St. Gregory off his horse as he rode through the city.] "Cumque magi ex planetarum⁴¹⁸ mappulatarumque processionibus magnum pontificem cognovissent," &c., &c.

PLANETA WORN BY A ROMAN SENATOR, AND A ROMAN BISHOP.

41. Joan. Diac. Vita D. Gregorii, lib. iv. cap. 83. [Describing the dress of Gordianus, a senator, father of St. Gregory, he says,] "Gordiani habitus castanei coloris planeta est, sub planeta dalmatica, in pedibus caligas habens."

And in cap. 84, speaking of St. Gregory himself, "Planeta super dalmaticam castanea."

THE PLANETA NOT TO BE WORN BY MONKS.

42. St. Isidore (*circ.* 620), in *Regula*, cap. 13 (*apud Ducange*). "Linteo non licet Monachum indui. Orarium, birros, planetas, non est fas uti, neque illa indumenta vel calceamenta quæ generaliter cætera monasteria abutuntur" ("do not use").

⁴¹⁸ The people dressed in *planetæ* are probably presbyters, and high officials; the mappulati, deacons, and sub-deacons.

THE PLANETA WORN AS A DISTINCTIVE VESTMENT BY BISHOPS AND PRESBYTERS.

43. *Concil. Tolet.* iv. ann. 634. See p. 75, *sqq.*

A PLANETA ONE OF THE VESTMENTS OF A POPE.

44. *Ordo Romanus* i. (eleventh century), *apud Mabillon, Museum Italicum*, and Martene *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* tom. ii. lib. iii. cap. 11.

In § 6 the vestments of the Pontifex Romanus are enumerated :

"Subdiaconi regionarii secundum ordinem suum accipiunt ad induendum Pontificem ipsa vestimenta: alius lineam, alius cingulum, alius anagolaium, id est amictum, alius lineam dalmaticam, et alius majorem dalmaticam, *et alius planetam*; et sic per ordinem induunt Pontificem. . . . Novissime autem, quem voluerit Dominus pontifex de diaconibus, vel subdiaconibus, cui ipse jussit, sumit de manu subdiaconi sequentis pallium, et induit super Pontificem, et configit eum cum acubus in planeta retro et ante, et in humero sinistro et salutatur Domnum et dicit," &c.

PLANETA WORN BY DEACONS, SUB-DEACONS, ACOLYTES.⁴¹⁹

45. *Ibid.* §§ 7 to 11. From a variety of notices in this portion of the *Ordo Romanus* I., it is clear that at Rome, in the eleventh century (and probably at a somewhat earlier time also), deacons, sub-deacons, and other of the inferior orders, wore a planeta when in attendance on a pope at a solemn function.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁹ Compare *Ordo Rom.* viii., where an acolyte, at his ordination, is described as invested with *orarium* and *planeta*. Dr. Hefele, referring to this, conjectures (p. 201), that the *planeta* of the minor orders was a scantier and shorter vestment than that worn by bishops and presbyters, resembling the little phænolion so called, worn by ἀναγνώστῃς in the Greek Church. But he has apparently overlooked the passage in the *Ordo* I., which is inconsistent with his explanation. For the sub-deacon is there described (§ 7) as carrying the mappula of the pontiff on his own left arm, *super planetam revolutam*. A vestment such as Hefele describes could not be rolled (folded) back upon the arm, and then have a mappula resting upon it. But these are minor matters, of antiquarian interest only.

⁴²⁰ From the close of the eighth century

the terms *Planeta* and *Casula* ceased to be distinguished the one from the other. See Rabanus Maurus (quoted p. 91, "*Casula* . . . hanc Græci planetam vocant"); Honorius of Autun (quoted p. 137, "*Casula* . . . hæc vestis et *Planeta* . . . vocatur"); Innocent III. (quoted p. 155, "*Casulam* vel *Planetam*."). To these passages may be added the following from the life of Abbot Ansegisus (written in the ninth century), edited by Mabillon in the *Acta Sanctorum Ord. Benedicti*. Sæc. iv. p. 945. Mention is made of various gifts to the church made by St. Ansegisus, and amongst them of *Planetas casulas quattuor . . . mappulas duas . . . stolas duas*. And so Luitprand (Hist. vi. cap. xi). Cui (*sc.* Benedicto Pseudo-Papæ) "*Casulam quam Planetam vocant, cum stola pariter abstulit.*"

APPENDIX D.

VESTMENTS WORN IN THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

FROM A MS. OF UNCERTAIN DATE EDITED BY MARTENE.⁴²¹

Epist. Secunda De Communi Officio. . . . “Pallium in pascha cum tintinnabulis Eucharistia velatur, instar veteris testamenti ubi tunica [h. e. tunica] sacerdotis plena tintinnabulis, signans verba prædicationis, ostenditur. Præcinctio autem vestimenti candidi, quod sacerdos baptizaturus præcingitur, in signa sancti Joannis agitur, qui præcinctus baptizavit Dominum. Albis autem vestibus in pascha induetur, secundum quod angelus ad monumentum albis vestibus cerneretur. Albæ etenim vestis exaltationem significant.

“Casula, quam amphibalum vocant, quod sacerdos induetur, tota unita, per Moysen legiferum instituta primitus demonstratur. Jussit ergo Dominus fieri dissimilatum vestimentum, ut talem sacerdos induerit quali indui populus non auderetur. Ideo sine manicas, quia sacerdos potius benedicit quam ministrat.⁴²² Ideo unita prinsecus, non scissa, non aperta: quia multæ sunt Scripturæ sacræ secreta mytheria, quæ quasi sub sigillo sacerdoti doctus debet abscondere, et unitatem custodire, non in hæresi vel schismata declinare.⁴²³

“Pallium⁴²⁴ vero quod circa collo usque ad pectus venit, rationale vocabatur in vetere testamento, scilicet signum sanctitatis super memoriam pectoris, dicente propheta ex persona Domini, ‘Spiritus Domini super me.’ Et post pauca, ‘ut poncrem gloriam lugentibus Sion, et darem eis coronam pro cinere, oleum gaudii pro luctu’ (Is. lxi. 3). Pallium laudis pro spiritu mœroris. Quod autem collo cingit, antiquæ consuetudinis est, quia reges et sacerdotes circumdati

⁴²¹ These extracts are from a MS. edited by Martene (*Theſaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. v). He describes it as follows; *Sancti Germani Parisiensis episcopi expositio brevis antiquæ Liturgiæ Gallicanæ*; and gives it as his opinion that *this work was written* (hoc opus scriptum) about the middle of the sixth century. This, he says, because St. Germanus was Bishop of Paris from 556 to 576 A.D. The only link of connection, however, between this anonymous MS. (found in the Monastery of St. Martin at Autun) and St. Germanus, is the fact that the writer begins by referring to (and quoting) what *Germanus episcopus Parisius scripsit de Missa*. Internal evidence points to the ninth or tenth century as the earliest at which the MS. could have been actually

written. [The spelling of the original is preserved throughout.]

⁴²² He refers to the fact that the form of the Casula was inconsistent with the use of the arms for anything like *active ministration*.

⁴²³ This furnishes, as will be seen, a new mystical meaning for the *Casula*.

⁴²⁴ The word Pallium is probably not used here in the technical sense of an archbishop's Pallium. In early representations (ninth century) of Gallican Bishops, the older form of the Pallium is seen, resembling that of Pl. XXX., XXXI., but meeting it at a point at the breast. And so the words here commented on may point to the *Pallium Gallicanum* (so called), of which more in Appendix E.

erant pallia veste fulgente, quod gratia præsignabat. Quod autem fimbriis vestimenta sacerdotalia adnectuntur, Dominus Moyfi præcepit in Numeris, ut per quattuor angulos palliorum filii Israel fimbrias facerent, ut populus Domini non solum opere, sed etiam et vestitu, mandatorum Dei signum portaret.

“Manūalia vero, id est manicas,⁴²⁵ induere sacerdotibus mos est, instar armillarum quas regum vel sacerdotum brachia constringebantur. Ideo autem ex quolibet pretioso vellere, non metalli duritia, extant, vel ut omnes communiter sacerdotes etiam minoris dignitatis in sæculo facilius inveniant.

“Vestimentum parvolum^{425 a} quod non sit in alio uso nisi ad frequentandum sacrificium, vel significat quod non graventur manus nostræ honoribus seculi, sed circumduntur subtilia exercitia mandatorum Dei. Prohibet autem manica, tonica ne appareat vile vestimentum, aut quocunque indignum tactum fordium super divina sacrificia, quo manus immolantis discurrunt.

“Albas vero quas levitæ utuntur ideo statuerunt Patres, quia in vestimento tincto non sic apparet cito macula quomodo in albo: et minister altaris ideo utitur, ut observet et caveat omnem maculam et nullatenus vestimenta ministrantium vel leviori tactu appareant fordida; sed candida sint, exterius veste, interius mente. Sirico aut vellere fictur, quia Dominus sacerdotibus ideo exinde habere indumenta mandavit, ut eorum vestis spem resurrectionis ostenderet. Sirico enim de ligno per verme fictur. Vermis post mortem procedit in alate, et post occasum et volatum figurans Christum, qui ex ligno crucis quiescens in sepulchro, tanquam vermis clausus in sacco angusto, surrexit de tumulo, et ad cælos sumfit volatum. Alterius vero velleris albi innocentiam tantum vitæ demonstrant. Alba autem non constringitur cingulo, sed suspensa tegit levitæ corpusculum, quia omnis conversatio Levitica in desiderio cælestis patriæ a terrenis operibus debet esse suspensa, nec cingulo peccatorum confrieta.

“Stola autem, quam super alba diaconus induit, significat subtilitatis intelligentiam in divina mysteria, licet veteri (h. e. veteres) stola induentes gaudium sollennitatis se habere monstrabant. Et pro hac causa in quadragesima pro humiliatione non utitur, sicut nec alleluia in nostra ecclesia, sanctus, vel prophetia, hymnum trium puerorum, vel canticum rubri maris, illis diebus decantantur. Stola alba namque angelus præcinctus apparuit, quando sedens in monumento Domini sollennitatem resurrectionis illius nuntiavit. Ideo in quadragesima prohibendum hæc cantica, quia cælestia et angelica sunt.”

⁴²⁵ The *manicæ*, here mentioned, “*instar armillarum*,” seems to point to a vestment resembling the Greek *ἐπιμασίου* (note 350, p. 169).

^{425 a} This “small vestment” is evidently the maniple.

APPENDIX E.

PASSAGES FROM EARLY WRITERS ILLUSTRATING THE
HISTORY OF THE ORARIUM ("STOLE,") AND
THE PAPAL PALLIUM.

THE ORARIUM OF SECULAR USE.

1. The following passages will indicate the form, and usage, of the Orarium in ordinary life. *α.* St. Jerome, *ad Nepotianum*, 529. *Plenum dedecoris est, referto marsupio, quod sudarium orariumque non habeas gloriari.* *β.* St. Ambrose, *De Resurrect.* *Et facies ejus (sc. Lazari) orario colligata erat.* *γ.* St. Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xxii. cap. 8, § 7. [An Orarium used as a bandage to tie up a wounded eye.] *Tunc, sicut potuit, oculum lapsum atque pendentem loco suo revocatum ligavit orario.* *δ.* Prudentius (fifth century), *Peristeph.* i; 86. [Speaking of two martyrs, Hemeterius and Celedonius, he says that the ring worn by one, and the handkerchief of the other, were miraculously carried up to heaven.] *Illa laus occulta non est, nec senescit tempore, missa quod sursum per auras evolarunt munera. . . . Illius fidem figurans nube fertur annulus; Hic sui dat pignus oris, ut ferunt, orarium.* *ε.* With this last compare St. Gregory of Tours, *De Glor. Martyr.* cap. 93, where he relates the same tale. In another passage of the same author we read of the son of Sigismund being strangled by means of an Orarium. *Hist. Franc.* lib. iii. cap. 5. *Sopitum vino dormire post meridiem filium jubet: cui dormienti orarium sub collo positum ac sub mento ligatum, trahentibus ad se invicem duobus pueris, suggillatus est.* [This was in the year 522 A.D.] *η.* St. Gregory the Great (close of the sixth century), writing to a friend at Constantinople, a *vir religiosus*, but not a priest, sends him as a present *duas camisas et quattuor oraria*, much as the Emperor Gallienus had done when writing to Claudius, three centuries earlier. [Epist. lib. vii. xxx. Indict. xv.]

ORARIA AS IMPERIAL PRESENTS.

1 *β.* Trebellius Pollio in *Claudio (prope finem)*. He is quoting a letter of the Emperor Gallienus in which he enumerates the presents (chiefly plate and rich garments) which he had sent to Claudius (afterwards emperor from 268 to 270). "*Albam subsericam, paragaudem triumcem unam. Zanchas⁴²⁷ de nostris Parthicis paria tria, . . . Penulam Illyricianam unam . . . Oraria Sarabdena quatuor.*"

Flavius Vopiscus in *Aureliano* (Imp. 270–275), *prope fin.* (p. 428). “Sciendun . . . illum . . . donasse populo Romano tunicas albas manicatas ex diversis provinciis, et lineas Afras atque Ægyptias puras; *ipsūque primum donasse oraria populo Romano quibus uteretur populus ad favorem.*” [On this use of *oraria*, “ad favorem,” see F. B. Ferrarius, *De Veterum Acclamationibus*, lib. ii. cap. 7, p. 63.]

THE ORARIUM, AS A SACRED VESTMENT, NOT TO BE WORN BY ANY BELOW THE RANK OF A DEACON.

2. Council of Laodicea, A.D. 327. [Harduin *Concil.* tom. i. p. 786.] Can. xxiii. οὐ δεῖ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀρχιερίον φορεῖν, οὐδὲ τὰς θύρας ἐγκαταλιμπάνειν. *Ibid.* Can. xxiv. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀναγνώστας ἢ ψάλλτας ἀρχιερίον φορεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἢ ψάλλειν.

ORARIUM WORN BY DEACONS, *circ.* 467.

3. St. Chrysostom († 407). In *Parab. de Filio Prodig.* *Inter opera spuria.* [Though probably not St. Chrysostom's, it is of a date not much later than his]. Tom. viii. p. 655. Μεννημένοι τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων τῶν λειτουργῶν τῆς θείας λειτουργίας, τῶν μιμουμένων τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων πτέρυγας ταῖς λεπταῖς ὀθόναῖς ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριστέρων ὤμων κειμέναις, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ περιτρεχόντων.

THE SAME, *circ.* 412.

4. St. Isidore of Pelusium, *circ.* 412 A.D. He speaks (see above, p. 49) of ἡ ὀθόνη μεθ' ἧς λειτουργοῦσιν οἱ διάκονοι ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις; and he adds that this ὀθόνη, or piece of fine linen, recalls the humility of our Lord in that of His washing, and wiping dry, the feet of His disciples.

ORARIUM FORBIDDEN TO MONKS, A.D. 511.

5. Concil. Aurelian. (anno 511) Canon xx. “Monacho uti orario⁴²⁶ in Monasterio, vel tzangas⁴²⁷ habere non liceat.” [Labbe, *Concil.* tom. iv. p. 1407.]

⁴²⁶ All commentators on this passage consider the word Orarium to be here used with its older meaning of a “pocket handkerchief.”

⁴²⁷ *Tzangas*. A kind of boot. τζάγγα or τζῶγγα in Byzantine Greek. As being of barbarous origin they were not allowed to be worn at Constantinople, *intra urbem*, even by laymen. [Codex Theod. *De Habitu*, &c. 14, 10. *Usum Tzangarum atque braccarum*

intra urbem venerabilem nemini liceat usurpare.]

Nearly four centuries later Charlemagne interdicted their use by the Clergy. *Capitul.* lib. vii. cap. 314. *Ut clerici pampis* [*al. pompis*] *aut tzangis vel armis non utuntur.* The passage in the letter of Emperor Gallienus quoted in p. 206 (overlooked by Ducange), determines their origin. *Zanchas de nostris Parthicus paria tria.*

DEACONS ARE NOT TO HIDE THEIR ORARIA.

6. Concil. Bracar. II. A.D. 563, capitulum ix. "Item placuit ut quia in aliquantis hujus provinciæ ecclesiis diaconi absconſis infra tunicam utuntur orariis, ita ut nihil differre a ſubdiacono videantur, de cetero ſuperpoſito ſcapulæ utantur orario." For Concil. Bracar. III. A.D. 572, ſee Innocent III., *ſup.* p. 154.

7. Concil. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633. [See above, p. 76.] Biſhops and prebeters alike wear *Oraria*, but not more than *one*. Deacons alſo are to wear but one, and that upon the left ſhoulder only. They are to wear it plain (*purum*), not decked out with colours nor with gold.

8. Concil. Bracar. IV. A.D. 685 [Labbe, tom. vii. p. 581] Can iv. "Cum antiqua eccleſiaſtica noverimus inſtitutione præfixum ut omnis ſacerdos, cum ordinatur, orario utroque humero ambiatur, ſcilicet ut qui imperturbatus præcipitur conſiſtere inter proſpera et adverſa, virtutum ſemper ornamento utrobique circumſeptus appareat; qua ratione tempore ſacrificii non aſſumat quod ſe in ſacramento accepiſſe non dubitatur? Proinde modis omnibus convenit ut quod quiſque percepit in conſecratione, hoc et retinet in oblatione, vel perceptione ſuæ ſalutis; ſcilicet ut cum ſacerdos ad ſolemnia miſſarum accedit, aut pro ſe Deo ſacrificium oblaturus, aut ſacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti ſumpturus, non aliter accedat quam orario utroque humero circumſeptus, ſicut et tempore ordinationis ſuæ dignoſcitur conſecratus: ita ut de uno eodemque orario cervicem pariter et utrumque humerum premens ſignum in ſuo pectore præferat crucis. Si quis autem aliter egerit, excommunicationi debitæ ſubjacebit."

9. St. Germanus of Conſtantinople, *circa* 715 A.D. [See the paſſage quoted, *ſupra*, p. 84.] He ſpeaks of the deacons as diſtinguiſhed by the light wings of their light oraria.

10. Concil. Moguntiacum (Mayence), A.D. 813, Can. xxviii. [Labbe, vol. xi. p. 336, Venet.] "Preſbyteri ſine intermiſſione utantur orariis propter differentiam ſacerdotii dignitatis."

ORARIUM AND OTHER VESTMENTS, NINTH CENTURY.

11. Riculſus, Biſhop of Soiſſons [† 902] Statutum vii. "Studere etiam debetis ut digne atque honeſte veſtra eccleſiaſtica veſtimenta præparata habeatis; Albam videlicet ad divinum myſterium unam vel duas nitidas, cum orariis, id eſt, ſtolis duabus nitidis, et amiſtus duobus nitidis, corporalibus quoque totidem nitidis, item zonis duabus, id eſt cinſtoriis, ac manipulis totidem nitidis; ac linteamina altaris habeatis nitida, et caſulam ſericam, cum qua miſſa celebretur. Hoc autem omnimodis prohibemus, ut nemo illa alba utatur in ſacris myſteriis, qua in quotidiano vel exteriori uſu induitur."

ORARIUM TO BE WORN WHEN TRAVELLING.

12. From the *Capitula* of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims († 882), and from the *Disciplina Ecclesiastica* (lib. i. 62) of Regino, Abbot of Prume, in the following century, we find that a priest, when on a journey, was bound to wear his *stola* or *orarium*, that his sacred character might be known. If he were robbed, or murdered, *non stola vestitus*, the crime was to be atoned *simplici emendatione*, but if *cum stola*, then *emendatione triplici*. This last provision was made by a council held at Tribur, near Mayence, in 895.

THE PALLIUM (PAPAL OR ARCHIEPISCOPAL).

13. The political history (so to call it) of the "Pallium Pontificium" in the West, may be briefly summed up as follows:

It was at first⁴²⁸ conferred on archbishops⁴²⁹ and metropolitans, not as a necessary qualification for that dignity, but as a symbol of accession of honour and of authority through *vicarial powers* (vices Apostolicæ Sedis), bestowed by the Roman See. Arles,⁴³⁰ for example, had been an archiepiscopal See long before Symmachus bestowed the Pallium on Cæsarius. See note θ, p. lviii. And when, nearly a century later, another Archbishop of Arles, Virgilius, applied (by letter) to St. Gregory the Great, for a similar privilege, he had been already for four years in possession of his See, and in the full exercise of his office.

This being so, a question of some difficulty arises out of the language of the first Council of Macon, A.D. 581, which in its sixth canon directs that no archbishop shall celebrate mass *sine Pallio*. Interpreted by the later discipline of the Western Church, when the power of the Papacy had been firmly established,

⁴²⁸ Anastasius, in the *Gesta* of Marcus, Bp. of Rome, A.D. 336, writes as follows: "*Hic constituit ut episcopus Ostiensis, qui consecrat episcopos Urbis,*¹¹³ *tunc pallio uteretur, et ab eodem Urbis*¹¹³ *episcopus consecraretur. Hic fecit constitutum de omni ecclesiastico ordine.* If the "Pallium" here spoken of is the Papal pallium, which is open to doubt, we have here the first instance of its being conferred by favour of the Roman See, but only for this special occasion of the consecration of the *Urbis episcopus*.

⁴²⁹ Millin, *Voyage en Italie*, tom. i. p. 108, speaks of a sarcophagus of S. Celsus, Archbishop of Milan, on which the Archbishop is represented wearing a Pallium marked with a single cross. [Martigny, D. J. A. C., in *voc.* Pallium.]

⁴³⁰ "Primate and Metropolitan had been

synonymous terms applied to the first Bishop of a Province" [*Primæ Sedis episcopus* is the only term allowed by Concil. Carth. iii. A.D. 397], "and so they continued to be for some time: subsequently the heads of the nations, or exarchs of a diocese, monopolised the title. Conc. Chalced. can. 9 et 17. Thus there were three Gallican primates over Celtica, Belgica, and Aquitania, respectively, whose Sees were Lyons, Treves, and Bourges. Again, the Bishop of Arles was styled Primate after that city had been made the residence of the prætorian Prefect; and hence the frequent contentions between him and the Bishop of Vienne about the primacy, in which the Roman bishops interfered, constituting themselves, as it were, primates over primates." Foulkes' *Manual of Ecc. Hist.* Oxford, 1851.

this might be supposed to mean *till he had been to Rome and there received the Pallium*. But such an interpretation in regard of the churches of Gaul in the sixth century would be altogether an anachronism, as well as a forcing of the language of the canon itself. Hence some ritualists⁴³¹ have supposed that in the sixth century a Pallium (but not necessarily the Roman Pallium) was worn by all archbishops as the symbol of their office, in the Gallican churches, as in the East, whose customs in many particulars they followed. It is believed, accordingly, that there was a *Pallium Gallicanum*, such as Gallican archbishops wore, existing side by side with the *Pallium Romanum*, worn by such bishops only as had the *vices Apostolicæ Sedis*. Hence the language of the canon will imply that an archbishop must wear a *Pallium*, when celebrating mass, just as a priest was bound at such time to wear an "orarium" (see Appendix E, No. 8). Compare note 424.

A further point of great interest in the history of the Papal Pallium is that of the joint action in regard to it of the chief powers in church and state. With regard to this there are some points which are absolutely beyond question,—others upon which Roman and Gallican (or German) authorities are at issue. It is admitted that at the close of the sixth century St. Gregory the Great speaks of himself as sending the Pallium with vicarial authority, to an archbishop of Arles, *with the assent of the Emperor*⁴³² (i.e. of the Byzantine Emperor, Maurice), and in compliance with the request (*petitio*) of the King. It is admitted, too, that at a somewhat earlier date (A.D. 545), Pope Vigilius, when conferring similar privileges on Auxanius, Bishop (really Archbishop) of Arles, did so *pro gloriosissimi filii nostri Regis Childeberti Christiana devotione mandatis*, "as our most glorious son, King Childebert, with Christian devotion, has commissioned us to do." But when, going back yet a hundred years earlier, a rescript of the Emperor Valentinian is produced, which purports to confer, by exclusively imperial authority, archiepiscopal powers, and the right of wearing the Pallium, upon one Joannes, Bishop (thenceforth archbishop) of Ravenna, and attaching these privileges to that see in perpetuity, we reach ground which is, naturally, intolerable to some. Hieronymus Rubeus, who was the first to publish the document, sought to evade the difficulty by supposing, that the Pallium spoken of by Valentinian was an imperial (or secular) Pallium, not the Pallium of an archbishop. Cardinal Baronius shows conclusively that the whole context is such as to exclude such a meaning. And he intimates, what is evidently true, that even were it otherwise, the really important question would be left untouched, that of the power of an emperor to constitute, by his own act and authority, a metropolitan province,

⁴³¹ See Hefele, L. G. p. 217; Ruinart, *Dissertatio de Palliis Archiepiscop.*, printed among the *Opera Posthuma* of Mabillon.

⁴³² But on other occasions, in dealing with Churches, which were created by the missionary zeal of the Roman See, St. Gregory acts

upon the principle alluded to in Note 116. And so (knowing nothing of the older *British* Church in the *Anglia* of his day) he created in England the two Archiepiscopal Sees of Canterbury and York, and sent over two Pallia for their use.

and assign archiepiscopal powers. He maintains therefore (followed in this by Cardinal Bona) that the entire document is a forgery. Dr. Hefele, a Roman Catholic, but not an Ultramontane, points out a fatal flaw in one of Baronius' arguments, viz. his assuming (what is notoriously ⁴³³ contrary to fact) that the conferring of such powers was *in those days* a matter of *exclusively* ecclesiastical jurisdiction, pertaining to the See of Rome. But I cannot help observing that he has not dealt with a far stronger argument, with which the Cardinal backs up his first. If such a rescript as this had been in existence among the archives of Ravenna (or even kept in memory by tradition), in the time of another John of Ravenna (see above, p. 66), contemporary of St. Gregory the Great, how came it that when there was a warm dispute, as in his time there was, concerning the nature and extent of the privileges of the Pallium attaching to the See of Ravenna, *no reference was made to this rescript* either by John himself (as far at least as we can judge from the correspondence), or by St. Gregory?

On the whole, I incline to think the Cardinal's theory probable, viz. that at some subsequent time of division between the Bishops of Ravenna and of Rome, this document was forged, in order to support the claims to independence put forward by the Northern See. Well would it be if Christian historians could say with truth, that such politic forgeries were without precedent elsewhere in Mediæval times.

Such is the earlier history of the Roman Pallium. If we turn to later history, we shall find another phase of thought concerning the Pallium, symbolised by the interesting historical monument reproduced in Plates XXXII. and XXXIII., and with more exactness of representation at p. lii. And some fifty years after the date of Leo III., and of Charlemagne (the embodied "Church and State" of those Mosáics), we find Pope Nicholas I., in his *Responsa ad Bulgaros*, laying down (for the first time) the rule which, whenever possible, has been adhered to ever since by the Roman Curia, viz. that no archbishop shall venture to exercise any of his functions, even after consecration, till he has received the Pallium from the tomb of the chief of the apostles. Labbe, Conc. tom. viii. p. 541; Innocent III., quoted at p. 160.

Those who would pursue this subject further will find the materials for doing so in the treatises named in note 110, p. 63; and in the passages of ancient authors quoted or referred to in the later editions of *Du Cange* (G. M. et I. L. in *voc.* Pallium), and of *Meursius*, in *voc.* Ὁμοόριον.

⁴³³ In the Codex Theodosianus, for example, we find an imperial rescript (lib. xvi. tit. ii. No. 45) addressed to the Prefect of Illyricum, which places all ecclesiastical affairs in the Illyrian Provinces under the jurisdiction of the

"*vir religiosissimus, sacrosanctæ Legis Antistes*," the Bishop of Constantinople. With this compare the rescript of Gratian, giving jurisdiction over other metropolitans to Damasus Bishop of Rome. [Gieseler, E. H. p. 434.]

APPENDIX F.

THE SACRED VESTMENTS OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

1. THE AMICTUS, OR AMICE.⁴³⁴

The Amice is described in note 178, p. 96. It is nowhere mentioned as a vestment till the ninth century. Walafrid Strabo, even in that century, is silent with regard to it. Note 217, p. 108. There is no corresponding vestment in the Greek Church.⁴³⁵

But though not named in the first eighth centuries as a sacred vestment, we can trace its origin in some expressions of St. Jerome, which suggest also the reason of its late appearance among church vestments. In a letter to his friend Nepotianus (a priest), he is warning him not to think that there is any merit in being dirty, and bids him not to take pride, *quia linteolum*⁴³⁶ *in collo non habeas ad detergendos sudores*, i.e. because, following monastic rule, you wear no linen between the neck and the outer woollen garments. As long as church vestments were themselves of linen, such a *lindeolum* was not needed in Church. But when silk and rich ornaments (especially about the upper border of the planeta) came to be worn, it was necessary to prevent their actual contact with the skin, and hence the introduction of the "Amice."

The mystical meanings attached to it may be seen detailed at p. 88 (Ephod Bad), 96, 111,²²⁴ 115,²⁴¹ 122, 126, 128, 132, 135.

Dr. Bock gives a plate (vol. ii. Pl. II.) showing the mode of wearing the Amice, both on the shoulders, and (in passing) as a *galea* (note 178, and Durandus, quoted at p. 167) on the head. The same writer furnishes details as to the *paruræ*, or ornamental borders, sometimes attached to the Amice, from the tenth century onward (as he thinks). Weiss (*Kostümkunde*, p. 667) dates these a full century later. [The former is right. See note 441, below.]

2. THE ALB.⁴³⁷

The history of the Alb during the first eight centuries has been already given. See Introduction, Chap. vii. p. liv.

⁴³⁴ Other names are *Humeralæ*, i.e. shoulder-piece, *Superhumeralæ* or *Ephod* (so, perhaps, Rabanus, p. 88); *Anabolagium* (i.e. ἀναβολαῖον or ἀναβολαῖον) or *Anagolaium*.

⁴³⁵ M. Victor Gay admits that the Amice cannot be traced back farther than the 8th century; A. A. vol. vi. p. 158. He adds (p. 161), "Les Orientaux plus stricts observateurs des traditions du costume primitif ne l'ont jamais adopté."

⁴³⁶ When in the same letter (Ep. 52) St. Jerome speaks of one who *absque amictu lineo incedit*, the word *amictus* is probably used in its older classical sense. *Non absque amictu lineo incedere, sed pretium vestium linearum non habere, laudabile est. Alioquin ridiculum est et plenum decoris, referto marsupio, quod sudarium orariumque non habeas gloriari.*

⁴³⁷ *Tunica lineæ, or tunica talaris, lineæ, ca-*

Like other vestments which in primitive times, and even till the close (or nearly so) of the eighth century, were of white linen only, the Alb became enriched in the later centuries,⁴³⁸ both in respect of material and of ornament. See Bock, L. G. vol. ii. p. 33, *sqq.*, and Hefele, p. 171, *sqq.* Their ornamentation was effected by adding *paruræ*, the position of which may be seen in Pl. LXI., on the Alb worn by the priests. Such Albs were known in France as *Albæ Romanæ* (V. Gay in Didron, A. A.).

The mystical meanings attached to this vestment may be seen on reference to pp. 69, 89, 95, 96, 110, 116, 135, 165.

The full and flowing shape of the Christian *Alba* was contrasted in the ninth century (see Amalarius, p. 96) with the closely fitting (note 6, p. 2) tunic of Levitical priesthood. But as super-vestments were multiplied in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Alb was necessarily more and more confined, and the modern Alb is almost as closely fitting as was that of the Levitical priest. Compare Pl. IX. and LXI. Even in St. Hugo's time (see p. 132, l. 4) the *linea interior*, corresponding to the original Alb, was altogether hidden (*latet*) by the additional vestments worn.

3. THE GIRDLE.

Cingulum, Zona, Balteus.

The Girdle was almost universally worn in ancient times as a matter of convenience, to fasten up the tunic, and in that case, generally, so worn as not to be visible. Exceptionally, too, by kings (note 81, p. 51) and other great personages in the East, it was worn as a distinctive ornament, and in such cases was richly ornamented. Such was the Girdle (see Pl. VIII. and IX.) of the Levitical priesthood.

Hence a double significance of the Girdle, *α.* as a symbol of *activity* (so, generally in Scripture, and in classical authors); *β.* as a symbol of royal or priestly dignity.

A third symbolism, that of chastity, which in ecclesiastical writers has almost exclusive place, is to be referred to associations of idea in regard to the Girdle sufficiently familiar to scholars, and upon which it is not necessary to dwell.

These considerations will explain the mystical significance attached to the Girdle from the ninth century onwards. These may be seen in pp. 89, 113, 116, 122, 132, 136.

Till, in the eighth or ninth century, the idea of an intended resemblance

misia, supparus, linea interior, are various names used in speaking of this vestment.

⁴³⁸ "After the 10th century," says Weifs (K. p. 667). The two kinds of albs were

distinguished as "*Alba pura*" (the "white alb plain" of Edward's first Prayer-book), and the *Alba parata*.

in detail between the Christian and the Levitical vestments was first broached, the Girdle, naturally, was either not⁴³⁹ worn at all (with the *tunica talaris* it was not necessary), or, when worn, was not visible, and was thought of only as a matter of convenience. In none of the early monuments of the West before A.D. 800, is any trace of it to be seen. But in the East we have mention of a Girdle as worn by deacons, early in the eighth century. (See p. 86, *in fin.*)

The mode in which the Girdle was worn in the ninth century is well illustrated in Pl. XXIII., where the priest is in an alb, with close-fitting sleeves (for obvious reasons of convenience in the administration of baptism by immersion) without chafuble.⁴⁴⁰ And the alb is evidently girt in at the waist, though no pendent ends are visible. The mode in which these ends appear in the later Roman costume may be seen in Pl. LXI., where they hang down beside the stole. These pendants probably correspond to the *subcingulum*, or *succinctorium* of Honorius, p. 136, note 275*a*; Innocent III., p. 144, note 301; and Durandus, p. 165, note 337.

It will readily be understood that a richly ornamented girdle, like that of Levitical priesthood (see Pl. VIII. and IX.) would be out of place (because wholly unseen) in the primitive dress of Christian ministry. Hence the *cingula auro texta* worn by bishops and others of the clergy in the ninth century were, as Durandus says (p. 165, note 336), *secularia ornamenta*, worn as part of the splendid secular dress then in fashion.

A variety of documents dating from the ninth century lead to the conclusion, that the *Zona*, as a *sacred vestment*, was not then in *general* use, but that costly Girdles (*Zonæ Romanæ*, p. 111) were in some cases used by bishops, as, for example, by Riculfus⁴⁴¹ of Soissons († 915 A.D.). These could

⁴³⁹ Note, as bearing upon this, the reproof given by St. Celestine (*sup.* p. 45), to certain Bishops in Gaul, who fought "by wearing a girdle (Note 74) round their loins to fulfil the truth of Scripture, not in the spirit, but in the letter."

⁴⁴⁰ Curiously parallel to this are the words, quoted at p. 204, where the priest is described as dressed in *albis*, and wearing a girdle *when about to baptize*.

⁴⁴¹ The Will of Bishop Riculfus is a complete inventory of Church vestments such as were used in the wealthier Churches of the 10th century. I subjoin those portions of it which refer to this subject, from the text of Migne (P. C. C. tom. cxxii. p. 468). For the credit of the Bishop's Latin I will add that such expressions as *capas duas*, *una purpura*, &c., may arise simply from copyists not recognising the abbreviation commonly employed for the accusative case in MS.

Among the various things *quæ in cultu*

Dei pertinent, which he leaves for the use of his Church, and of his successors in the See, he names—

"Caligas et sandalias paria duo, amictos cum auro quattuor; albas quinque, tres claras et planas duas; roquos quattuor, unum purpureum cum auro, et alium palleum Græco, et alios duos in Græcia factos; zonas quinque, una cum auro, et gemmis pretiosis, et alias quattuor cum auro; stolas quattuor cum auro, una ex illis cum tintinnabulis; et manipulos sex cum auro, unum sex [*leg. ex*] iis cum tintinnabulis; casulas episcopales optimas tres, unam dioprasiam, et alias duas de orodonas; annulum aureum unum cum gemmis pretiosis, et uvantos paria unum; camisas ad textum et missalem quattuor, unum cum auro purpureum, et alios palleos corporales quattuor; palleos quattuor, e brofido unum; dalmaticas tres; capas duas, una purpura et alia bition" (*blattea*?). [For *de orodonas* above, Dr. Hefele reads *diarodinas*, i.e., *διαροδίνες*, "rose-coloured."]

be worn *so as to be seen* with a *capa* or cope (two of which are mentioned among the bishop's vestments), though not with a *casula*.

Full details as to the later forms of the Girdle, and the changes in it at various times, will be found in Bock, L. G. tom. ii. p. 50, *sqq.* Compare Hefele, L. G. p. 78.

4. THE STOLE [ORARIUM OR STOLA].

For the earlier history see Introduction, p. lxii., *sqq.* and Appendix D. And for the two names see note 144, p. 84.

No satisfactory ⁴⁴² account has yet been given of the introduction of this later term *Stola*. I venture to think that it is to be accounted for by the fact that the word, as employed in the *Vulgate*, is suggestive of a vestment of solemn state or dignity, particularly of "a priestly robe." And as in the eighth century the *Orarium* was regarded as *the special vestment of Christian priesthood*, to be worn *hora sacrificii* under pain of excommunication, it seems not improbable that the *Orarium* may then have been called, by certain persons, as Raban says, "the Stole," or, as we might now say, "the vestment" of the priest. The technical terminology of the Mediæval Church in the West was formed not upon classical Latin, still less upon classical Greek, or, indeed, any Greek at all, but upon the Latin of the *Vulgate*,⁴⁴³ and of the Latin fathers. We find, accordingly, some indications that the word *stola* was occasionally used in early writers, as it is occasionally in Scripture, of a long white garment, "a priestly robe," as the *tunica talaris*. Such probably is the meaning of the word in the only passage in which *stola* is expressly distinguished from the *Orarium* by any of the mediæval writers. [*Acta Sanctorum*, Maius xxvi. p. 393, "*Addit Stolum et Orarium.*"]

This vestment was originally of white linen. But so early as the beginning of the seventh century we find that some of the younger clergy of Spain had taken to "coloured oraria," decked out with gold; and were not even content with *one* only. Hence the Canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo, quoted at p. 75.

⁴⁴² The supposition that it was the border of a long and full garment called "*stola*" (such as the older *stola matronalis*), is deservedly rejected by most writers on this subject. The suggestion made by Honorius (see p. 136), points rather to such an explanation as that made in the text, in this, at least, that he traces back the ecclesiastical use of "*stola*" to the scriptural (*Vulgate*) use of the same word. See next note.

⁴⁴³ Thus Honorius (*supra*, p. 139, l. 17)

speaks of the *prima stola* "the best robe," with which the prodigal on his return was clad. And Innocent III., in like manner, quotes the words of the Apocalypse, "*stabant . . . amici stolis albis*" (p. 163, l. 15), without any thought whatever of the "*Stole*" technically so called. Compare the passage of Ezekiel, xlv., quoted at p. 29, where see note 50. And that of Honorius (p. 156) referred to in last note.

By the ninth century we find such coloured stoles, bedecked with gold, represented both in Italy and in Gaul.⁴⁴⁴ In the Pontifical of Bishop Landulfus, some of the presbyters wear *two* Stoles, differing in pattern one from the other, one being white, with black crosses, the other gold colour.

For notices of the Stole (other than those in Appendix E), see pp. 126, 129, 132, 136, 142, 147, 154, 165, 166, 207.

For representations of it, Pl. XXIII., XXXV., XXXVI., XLIV., XLV., LXI. In the three last, only the lower⁴⁴⁵ extremity of the Stole is visible under the dalmatic.

5. THE MANIPLE.

[*Pallium Linostimum*, *Mappa*, *Mappula*, *Manipulus*, *Sudarium*, *Phanon*¹⁶¹ or *Fanon*,²³³ *Mantile*, *Manutergium*.]

The earlier history of the Mappula has been already touched upon. Introduction, p. lxx.

Till the close of the eighth century, we hear of it only as a processional vestment, distinctive of the Roman clergy. But from the beginning of the ninth it has been recognised as one of the *sacræ vestes*. See pp. 65, 90, 101 (*sudarium in manu*), 103, 113 (note 233), 117, 127, 137, 149, 156, 161, (*manipulo pro clava utitur*).

The ἐγχειρίδιον, or ὀδὼν, which in the eighth century was carried suspended from the Girdle by *deacons* in the East, constituted, in all probability, a real parallel to this vestment. But the episcopal ἐπιμαντήριον (see note 350, and Pl. LVI.), differ from it in origin, in shape, in symbolism, as they do in name.

For representations of the Maniple, see Plates XLIII., XLVIII., LXI.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁴ In the Pontifical of Landulfus, and in the illuminations, dating from the ninth century, published by Louandre et Maugé, L. A. S. vol. ii. "Le Prince Franc." In this picture the ends of the Stole (which alone are visible) in two figures of bishops, are decked with gold.

⁴⁴⁵ In this we see the reason for the concentration of ornament in the *ends* of the Stole, in mediæval times, and for their gradual enlargement consequent upon this.

⁴⁴⁶ In a French MS. of the ninth century (subsequent to the adoption of the Roman ritual), bishops and priests are represented *holding* a Maniple, generally in the right hand (not wearing it pendent from the left wrist as in later use). See Louandre et Maugé

Les A. S. vol. ii. Les Chanoines de St. Martin. So Amalarius (*sup.* p. 112, 113) *writing in Gaul*, "*sudarium quod . . . in manu gestari mos est.*"

But in the Pontifical of Landulfus, assigned by all Roman antiquaries to the ninth century (see Pl. XXX. to XXXIII. of this work) none of the priests have Maniples. In No. 3, 5, 9, the bishop has on his right hand what might be mistaken for a Maniple, but which on close examination of the facsimiles (drawn and coloured from the originals) now before me, appear rather to be the extremity of a kind of pallium, worn by the bishop over his chasuble; and which appears to be a detached vestment, not a mere "orfrey" (note 312) of the chasuble itself.

6. THE CHASUBLE.

[*Planeta, Casula, Infula, Amphibalum.*]

For earlier history, see Introduction, p. lxiii, *sqq.*, and Appendix C.

For subsequent notices see Rabanus, p. 91; Amalarius, p. 97; Walafrid, p. 108; Alcuinus, p. 117; St. Ivo, p. 127, (note 217); St. Hugo, p. 132, 133 (note 268); Honorius, p. 136; Innocent III., pp. 148 and 156; Durandus, p. 166, l. 3 (*casula quasi clypeo tegitur*).

For representations, see Pl. XXVIII., XXX., XXXI. (all these, however, *Planetae* rather than *Casulae*), XXXIII. (but ?), XXXIV., XXXV., XXXVI., XXXVII., XXXIX., XL., XLII., XLIV., XLV., XLVI., XLVIII., LXI.

With these compare the Greek *φαινόλια*, both secular, as in Pl. XVIII., XIX., XX., XXI., XXVII., and liturgical, as in Pl. XLI. and LVIII.

For details of ornamentation at various times, see Bock, L. G. p. 101 to 128; Hefele, L. G. p. 199, 200; and Pugin G. G. A. *in voc.*

This vestment is utterly unlike any of those of Levitical priesthood. And as long as the humble origin of the vestment (see Appendix C, No. 32) was remembered in the church, and it was regarded as common to all clerics, and to monks also (Appendix C, No. 33, 34, 35), as a secular dress, there was of course no special association of ideas of "sacrifice" with this vestment. Accordingly we find the earlier writers speaking of it as typical either of "charity," the symbolism⁴⁴⁷ which it has retained through all the later liturgical writers, or of those good works and duties which are "*common to all of the clerical order*," hungering, thirsting, watching, nakedness; reading, singing of psalms, prayer; activity in good works, teaching, silent meditation, and the like (Amalarius, p. 98). But as time went on, and the secular^{447 a} dress of the clergy no longer resembled the *casula* in form or in name, the chasuble came to be regarded as *the* distinctive vestment of Christian priesthood, and *therefore* (according to the prevailing idea of mediæval times) became specially associated with the idea of sacrifice. See Appendix G, No. 2, and note 458.

NINE ADDITIONAL VESTMENTS PROPER TO BISHOPS ONLY.

7. THE CALIGÆ, LEGGINGS OR STOCKINGS.

First mentioned among the sacred vestments by St. Ivo, p. 128, l. 6. He describes them as made of linen, and *reaching* (from the foot) *to the knee*,

⁴⁴⁷ See Rabanus, p. 91. The passage there quoted will show the fanciful ground on which this symbolism was originally based.

Compare St. Ivo (p. 127). *Casula* . . .
quæ quia communis est vestis charitatem significat.

^{447 a} On the secular dress of the clergy, both in East and West, from the ninth century downwards, see Thomassinus, *De Bea.* part i. lib. ii cap. 48, 50, 51. *Cappa* was, as we shall see, the prevailing name for the out-door dress both of clergy and monks.

where they are closely fastened. Hence the symbolism which he gives them. Compare Innocent III., p. 150. In later times the *tibialia*⁴⁴⁸ of a bishop were always made of silk. Of this regulation we retain, by custom, some traces among ourselves.

8. THE SHOES.

Sandalia, Soleæ, Campagæ or Campobi.

First noticed as a sacred vestment by Rabanus (*supra*, p. 92). Compare Amalarius, p. 97, l. 15, and p. 104 (where every minute part of the Shoe has its special symbolism assigned); Alcuinus, p. 112 (*in fin.*), 115, 118, and note 243; St. Ivo, p. 127; Innocent III., pp. 150 and 157.

Even at an earlier time we find that the kind of Shoes to be worn by ecclesiastics was matter of strict regulation in churches subject to the Roman See. Note 184, p. 97. Such matters had not been thought unworthy of imperial legislation, in reference to the etiquette of dress at Rome and at Constantinople. See note 427, p. 207, and Plates XXII., XXIV., XXV., XXVIII., XLIII.

9. THE UNDER-GIRDLE.

Subcingulum, Succinctorium.

This vestment has been already noticed, in connection with the Girdle, and in note 313.

But since that note was written I have discovered what appears to be the real explanation of what is written about the Under-Girdle, by Honorius (p. 136); Innocent III. (pp. 143, 144); and Durandus (quoted in note 313). They all speak, directly or by implication, of *two* Girdles. And though the language of Durandus and of Innocent III. in p. 153, might admit of the explanation given in note 313, that of Honorius seems inconsistent with it. But the *Ordo Romanus V.*, when describing the vestments of the *Pontifex* (*i.e.* the Pope),⁴⁴⁹ shows that there really were two

⁴⁴⁸ *Tibialia* is another name for the *caligæ*. The *caligæ* of a bishop, wearing ecclesiastical dress, are, of course, not visible. Similar *caligæ* worn by Charlemagne are seen in the woodcut at p. lii.

⁴⁴⁹ Though in the language of the Western Church generally, *Pontifex* has the meaning "bishop," as pointed out in note 45, yet at Rome itself (to which, as shown in that note, the word *Pontifex* has a special relation), this title was distinctively used of the Pope, while to other bishops was given the ordinary title of *episcopus*. Both these usages of *Pontifex* are

illustrated by John the Deacon (*circa* 875). He sometimes uses it of ordinary bishops, as in lib. iii. cap. 15, 33, 33, or of archbishops, as of John of Ravenna. But in lib. iv. cap. 91, he speaks of Bishop (*episcopus*) Lucidus, then resident at Rome, going up to dine in full dress (*sacerdotalibus infulis redimitus*) at the patriarchium, with the *Pontifex*, St. Gregory. In accordance with this, the *Ordo Romanus V.* distinguishes between the *Vestimenta Pontificalia*, and the *Vestimentum alii* (*i.e.* alius) *Romani Episcopi*. [See Mabillon's Preface, p. 63.]

distinct Girdles, as indicated by Honorius. The vestments are enumerated as follows: *De Vestimentis Pontificalibus. In primis cam* (i.e. *camisia*) *et cingitur supra. Dein linea cum cottis, serica, et cingulum. Post hæc mittitur anagolai* (i.e. *amictus*); *exinde dalmatica minore, postea majore dalmatica, et supra orarium. Post hæc planeta, et supra mittitur pallium.* The inner Girdle over the *camisia*, or shirt, represents the older Girdle of primitive usage, without ornament, and altogether out of sight. The *cingulum*, afterwards spoken of, is an ornamented girdle, introduced among the "vestments" at a much later period, in imitation of the ornamented Girdle of Levitical priesthood.

10. THE EPISCOPAL TUNIC.

Tunica Pontificalis, T. poderis, T. interior vel hyacinthina.

Innocent III., in his enumeration of the pontifical (i.e. episcopal) vestments, distinguishes between the Alb, p. 145, *sqq.*, the Tunic, and the Dalmatic. All these are really Tunics, the two latter having been superadded one after the other for richer ornament. The process was probably this. The *tunica alba*, made of linen, of the more primitive dress, was replaced by one of silk, often of blue silk, in imitation of the *tunica hyacinthina* of the Levitical high-priest. A rich vestment of this kind required an under tunic, for obvious reasons. And, accordingly, that under Tunic was now called *alba* simply, the second Tunic (which was *talaris*, but not quite so long as the alb) followed; and the Dalmatic, shorn now of its ancient length, in order to leave the second tunic visible, followed third in order. All this will readily be understood by reference to the figure of the bishop in Pl. LXI. The gradual addition of one Tunic after another may be traced from the ninth century downwards in Pl. XXXVII. (one only); XXXIX. and XLIV. (two); XLVIII. and LXI., (three). The Ordo Romanus V. (*sup.* § 9) enumerates three Tunics in all, besides the *camisia*.

The language of St. Ivo (see p. 122), and previously of Amalarius (p. 100, 101), fully confirms this supposition. St. Ivo says, that both in the old and the new covenant, only *Pontifices* (high-priests in the one case, bishops in the other), wear two Tunics, the second Tunic, the *tunica hyacinthina*, being that which was exclusively theirs. This Tunic he calls *interior*, as does Amalarius (p. 101), not of course in reference to the *alba*⁴⁵⁰ (or to the *tunica talaris* of the high-priest), but in reference to the dalmatic. Alcuinus, on the other hand, speaks of the Levitical Tunic of blue (p. 110) as *tunica exterior*, an outer Tunic, in respect of the white Tunic of linen beneath it. St. Hugo varies yet again from these. The *two Tunics* are to him the *linea interior*

⁴⁵⁰ Hence Amalarius speaks of the *alba* as *camisia*, and of the two others as *duæ tunicae*. See p. 101, and note 194. And what Ama-

larius calls *duæ tunicae*, appear in the fifth of the *Ordines Romani* as *dalmatica major* and *minor*.

(answering to our shirt), which (*latet*) is unseen, and the *linea exterior* or alb, which was visible. See pp. 131, 132.

11. THE DALMATIC (OF THE BISHOP).

The general history of the Dalmatic has already been fully investigated See Introduction, p. lv, *sqq.*

But the Dalmatic now in question is not the full and flowing white linen vestment of primitive times (with simple stripes for ornament, see Pl. XVII., XXXIII.), but the highly ornamented vestment worn by bishops and other high officials of the Church, immediately under the *casula* or *planeta*. In some instances (Ordo Rom. V. quoted in § 9) two such Dalmatics are spoken of. Representations of this vestment may be seen (immediately under the chasuble) in Pl. XXXIX., XLII., XLIV., XLV., XLVI., LXI., in which last is seen the deacon's Dalmatic also.

12. THE MITRA.⁴⁵¹

First mentioned among the *Sacræ Vestes* by Honorius of Autun, about the middle of the twelfth century. See p. 138. But it had been in use, in some parts at least of the West, some time previously. The figure of St. Dunstan (Pl. XL.) in a MS. of the eleventh century, shows him wearing a cap *ex bysso confecta*, much such as that to which the language of Honorius points, and this is the earliest example of the kind which I have seen. I should except, perhaps, one of the bishops represented in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwald, belonging to the Duke of Devonshire. This is of the tenth century. The figure is represented with a kind of diadem, a narrow circlet of gold, with jewels round the head. This, however, is not really of the nature of a "Mitra," and may not improbably be suggestive of royal rank, to which church dignitaries could then not unfrequently lay claim. Some ritualists have sought to assign a much earlier date to the "Mitra." The passages they allege have been already considered (Appendix B, No. 1 to 6). If we omit these (for the reasons given in that Appendix) we shall find that the earliest mention of the Mitra, which Dr. Hefele can adduce as genuine,

⁴⁵¹ The word *μίτρα* (*quasi μίτρα* from *μίτρος* thread), was probably by origin an adjective. Hence its double use in classical Greek, meaning a woman's cap (*σκιφάνη* being understood), or a girdle, when *ζώνη* is the word to be supplied. In the LXX it is used as the rendering of Miznepheth, the priest's cap (Exod. xxviii. 33; xxix. 6; xxxix. 31), for which elsewhere (Exod. xxviii. 4, 35, and 36; xxix. 9; xxxix. 27) *χιτάρις* is employed. The Vulgate has in corresponding passages either *cidaris* (Exod.

xxviii. 4) or *tiara* (see note 84, p. 52), as in Exod. xxviii. 37, 40; xxix. 6; or *mitra*, as in xxix. 9; xxxix. 26 and 30. In St. Isidore, *mitra* (as in classical Latin) means a cap worn by women. *Orig.* xix. 31, and *De Off. Ecc.* lib. ii. cap. 17. So in Tertullian, *De Virg. Vel.* (vol. iii. p. 32).

Other names for the Mitra are *Tiara* (note 84, p. 52), *Pileus*, *Cidaris*, *Insula* (note 296², and Appendix B, No. 4) *Phrygium* (Me-nardus in *Lib. Sacram. S. Gregor.* p. 212).

is of the eleventh century, where in 1049 A.D. mention⁴⁵² is made, on more than one occasion, of a *Mitra Romana*, a kind of Mitra specially characteristic of the Roman Church. And to the same effect, Peter Damian, writing *circ.* 1073, to Cadalous, then "antipope," says, "*Habes nunc forsitan mitram, babes juxta morem Romani pontificis rubram cappam* (opp. tom. i. p. 121, Epist. lib. i. 20); "It may be that you now are wearing the vestments which properly belong to the pope, the mitre and red cope." Menardus states that in all the ritual books before 1000 A.D. which he had examined, there was no mention of the *Mitra*, and that he believes *vix ante annum post Christum natum millennium mitræ usum in ecclesia fuisse*. The documents quoted in this work all point to the same conclusion. See the language of Alcuinus, quoted at p. 112. *Tiara* (that of the Levitical priest) *erat vestis, pileolum videlicet rotundum. . . . habens vittas. . . . Summus Pontifex* (the high-priest) *præter pileum habebat coronam auream triplicemque*.⁴⁵³ . . . *Hujuscemodi vestis non habent* (leg. habetur) *in Romana ecclesia vel in nostris regionibus*, and then again, after speaking of the *lamina aurea*, he adds, *Neque hanc ornamenti speciem Christi accepit ab illis ecclesia*. This treatise dates (note 218) from late in the tenth century. Compare note 217, *in fin.*

Various forms of the Mitra will be seen in Plates XLIV., XLVI., XLVII., XLVIII., L., LI., LII. to LV., LXI. And see description of Pl. XXXIX.

For details as to the ornamentation of the Mitra, and its varieties of form at different periods, see Bock, L. G. tom. ii. p. 153, *seqq.*

⁴⁵² In a charter of Leo IX., conferring privileges on Eberhard, Archbishop of Treves: *Quapropter omnibus ipsis laudantibus et respondentibus [respondentibus?] pro investitura ipsius Primatus, Romana mitra caput vestrum insignimus, qua et vos et successores vestri in Ecclesiasticis officiis Romano more semper utamini, semperque vos esse Romanæ sedis discipulos reminiscamini.* [*Apud Dufresne in voc.*]

⁴⁵³ Among the expressions in ancient writers alleged as bearing upon this point, are some few, from which it appears that *corona vestra* (literally "your chaplet") was a term of formal courtesy in addressing bishops and others of the clergy as early as the fourth century. The only *corona* of Christian ministry known to antiquity, even as late as St. Isidore's time (see p. 68, above), was the chaplet or circle of hair beneath the tonsure. Tertullian, as is well known, regards *coronæ* as essentially symbols of heathenism, and asks (after his rhetorical manner), *Quis Patriarcha, quis Propheta*

. . . . *vel postea Apostolus . . . aut Episcopus invenitur coronatus?* *De Cor. Mil.* 350. I can only suggest that "*corona vestra*" may have been, in the conventional language of Rome in the fourth century, an expression of courtesy answering to "Your Reverence," "Your Grace," and the like in modern times; and imported into Christian usage from an idiom, which originally had reference to the *coronæ* of heathen priesthood. The passages, of which I speak, are, *α.* Hieronymus ad Augustinum, No. 26. "*Fratres tuos, dominum meum Alypium et dominum meum Evodum, ut meo nomine salutes, precor coronam vestram*"; and *β.* St. Augustine, ep. 147, ad Proculianum. *Per coronam vestram nos adjurant vestri* (h. e. the Donatists); *per coronam vestram vos adjurant vestri*. Many passages to the same effect are quoted by Dufresne, *in voc.*, and he adds that the phrase *ὁ ὑμῶν στέφανος* is used in the same sense by some of the Greek Fathers.

13. THE GLOVES.

Cbirothecæ, Guanti,⁴⁵⁴ *Uvanti*.

Like many other parts of the full episcopal costume as developed in the twelfth century, the Gloves (*cbirothecæ*) had long been in use, for practical purposes, before they were exalted to the rank of "sacred vestments," and invested with a symbolism of their own. The first writer who so mentions them is Honorius (note 296*), early in the twelfth century.

Full details concerning these will be found in Bock, L. G. ii. 131, *sqq.*

14. THE EPISCOPAL RING.

In Roman usage, of the classical times, Rings were used as insignia of rank, and a Ring of a particular kind was exclusively appropriated to those of the equestrian order.

Early in the seventh century we find mention (see p. 75) of a Ring as one of the distinctive insignia of a bishop. When the coffin of Bishop Agilbert of Paris (seventh century) was opened, De Sauffay, who was present, saw on his finger a gold ring, with a jewel on which was a likeness of our Lord and St. Jerome. Other similar instances are referred to by Bock, L. G. ii. p. 207, *sqq.*

That no mention of the Ring, as one of the insignia of a bishop, should be made by any of the writers of the ninth, or even tenth century, quoted in this volume, may be accounted for by the fact, that they occupy themselves more particularly with those vestments which resembled (or were thought to resemble) those of Levitical priesthood. Of the later writers, Honorius is the first to speak of it (see p. 139); and he is followed by Innocent III., p. 149 and 157; as afterwards by Durandus, and all the later ritualists.⁴⁵⁵

15. THE STAFF, AND THE CROZIER.

Baculus, Pedum, Virga, Cambuca, Ferula.

The Staff, as a distinctive mark of a bishop, is mentioned in the Acts of the Fourth Council of Toledo. The allusion to the *Baculus* in the letter of Celestine, Bishop of Rome (quoted at p. 45), is such as so indicate that the carrying of a *Baculus*, by bishops, as matter of ceremonial, was an innovation peculiar to certain parts of Gaul at that time (*circ.* 430 A.D.). The earliest

⁴⁵⁴ These forms, which with *Wantus*, *Quanto*, *Gantus* (whence the French "gant"), are all of German origin, and indicate the source from which the use of gloves was in-

roduced into Europe.

⁴⁵⁵ For this see Innocent III., quoted at p. 147, and p. 155; and Honorius, p. 139.

representation of a Staff in art-monuments, that I have seen, are those in Pl. XLII. and XLIII. But a "cross," somewhat resembling the later Crozier of an archbishop (see Pl. XLVIII.), is attributed both to St. Peter and to St. Laurentius, in the mosaic dating from the time of Pelagius II. (*sed.* 578 to 590), reproduced from a drawing in the collection at Windfor in Pl. XXIX. The same plate represents a *Virga* in the hand of our Lord, the symbolism of which, as the "rod" or "sceptre" of *divine power*, has already been noticed. (Introduction, p. xl.) For the later forms of the Staff and Crozier, appropriated to bishops and archbishops respectively, see Plates XLII., XLVII., XLVIII., LI., LXI; and for the abbot's Staff, Pl. XLVII. and XLIX. For the Pallium, see Introduction, p. lxxi, *sqq.*, and Appendix E, No. '13, to end. For the Orate (or *Fanon*) of the Pope, note 314, p. 153; and for the Pectoral Cross, note 315. To this last ornament answers the *ἐγκόλπιον* (note 342), worn by bishops in the East.

APPENDIX G.

THE VESTMENTS PRESCRIBED IN THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI., AND IN THE LATER BOOKS.

The vestments ordered in the Prayer-book of 1549, are at the holy Communion, α. "for the priest that shall execute the holy ministry, the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a *white alb plain, with a vestment or cope*;" β. where there are priests or deacons, ready to help, these are to wear "albs with tunacles."

1. The first-named is the "*white Alb plain*." By the Alb, when distinguished, as here it is, from the surplice, is meant a white tunic, of much scantier⁴⁵⁶ dimensions than the surplice, and, as such, suited for wearing under a super-vestment, such as the "vestment or cope." By plain (*pura*) is meant without the "apparels" (note 438, p. 213), which, in mediæval times, had been adopted as ornaments to the Alb.

For the earlier history of the Alb, see Introduction, p. liv, *sqq.* and Appendix F. No. 2.

2. The "*vestment*." In strictness of grammar, one who speaks of wearing

⁴⁵⁶ See p. 213, l. 10, *sqq.*

"a vestment or cope," would be understood to mean but *one* vestment, of which "cope" was an alternative name. But it appears clear that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the word "*vestimentum*" was often ⁴⁵⁷ used, with a limited meaning, of that which was *then* regarded as *the* special vestment of Christian ministry, viz. the chasuble.

It is clear that the last-named vestment was in the later pre-Reformation times regarded as specially appropriate to "the sacrifice of the altar." This will appear first from the language of the older Inventories, quoted and examined below (p. 226). And the inference thence made is curiously confirmed by another rubric of the same first Prayer-book. Though an option is given (in the rubric already quoted) between "vestment or cope," for the priest *at holy communion*, yet in the rubric providing for services on Wednesdays and Fridays, when there is no communion, a "cope" is prescribed without any alternative.⁴⁵⁸

3. The vestment next named is the Cope (Cappa or Capa). A representation of the Cope, dating from the time of Henry VII., will be seen in Pl. LI. An earlier example at Pl. XLVII., and XLVIII.

The word *capa* is first met with in the *Origines* of St. Isidore. And the two definitions which he gives to the word (answering, respectively, to our "cape," or hood,"⁴⁵⁹ and "cope"), serve to cover the whole range of meanings attached to the word even to the present time. "*Capa*," he says, in one place, "*dicta, quod capitis est ornamentum*;" and then again, "*capa . . . quia quasi totum capiat hominem*."

It is with the second of these two meanings that we are now concerned. The Cope was originally a garb for out-door use, and was therefore furnished, as were almost all such garments in primitive times, with a "hood," for protection of the head against cold or rain.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁷ It was also used as an inclusive term, for a complete set of vestments for "Celebrant, Epistoler, and Gospeller," with altar-hangings to match (*ejusdem sectæ*). See passages to this effect quoted below in note 463.

⁴⁵⁸ I have to thank Mr. Droop for calling my attention to this. He adds, as further, and very conclusive proof of the distinctive position then assigned to the chasuble, a reference to a kind of "*directorium*," in the Lutheran Church in Brandenburg, published in MDXL. Provision is there made for part of the communion office being performed *when there are no communicants*, but with the direction appended, that the priests are in that case *not to wear a chasuble*, but a cope (*korkappe*) only, or in village churches where there are no copes, a common surplice (*ein schlechten Corrock*), *lest simple folk should suppose that it was intended to celebrate mass,*

after the former fashion, without communicants. [Kirchen Ordnung in Churfürstenthum der Mark zu Brandenburg u. s. w. Berlin, MDXL. In the British Museum under "Liturgies." Brandenburg, c. 47, d.]

⁴⁵⁹ For this we have direct authority at a later time. Theodorus, writing *from Italy* to Charlemagne, and speaking of the dress of the monks of Monte Cassino (*Dufresne, in voc. Capa*). *Illud indumentum quod a Gallis monachis cuculla dicitur, nos Capam vocamus.* We may trace the same meaning of *Capa* as equivalent to "hood" in the eleventh century (Concil. Metense, A.D. 888). when the use of *Cotti* and *Mantelli*, with *Capæ*, was forbidden to laymen, and prescribed to monks.

⁴⁶⁰ Hence the name *Pluviale*, by which the cope is often known. See p. 167, and note 339, in *voc.*

Such a garment, it is obvious, admits of every possible variety in material, and colour, and ornamentation. And we find, accordingly, that the *Cappa* was used by laymen, by monks, by the clergy of all orders.^{460 a} But even the richest Copes were for the most part considered as vestments of stately dignity to be worn in *processions*, and on ceremonial occasions, not as having any especial relation to the *ministerium Altaris*.

One very common usage of the simpler *Cappa* was that of a choir-vestment for the *Cantores*. See note 295, p. 141. Being made of a thick woollen material, and furnished with a hood, it was well suited for such a purpose as a protection from cold.⁴⁶¹

4. The *Tunicle*.⁴⁶² The rubrics of 1547 were written so as to be understood by persons who, with very few exceptions, were neither scholars nor antiquaries, but who were acquainted with the conventional meaning of terms in common use in this country at the time. That common use we may now trace in the barbarous Latin, or the Latinised English, of church Inventories. And in these we find that *Tunicæ* are distinguished, as in this rubric, from *Albæ*. And it is clear that the direction given in this rubric of the first Prayer-book of 1549, is based throughout upon the old arrangement. Such lists as those given below,⁴⁶³ when carefully examined with special reference to the *numbers* of each separate vestment named, will at once illustrate, and be illustrated by, the rubric we are now considering. In each case the "*vestmentum*," spoken of (the word here meaning a *complete set of vestments* for *three* persons, the Celebrant, Epistoler, and Gospeller), contains *three* of all such vestments as in pre-Reformation use *would be worn by all three*, but has *one* Casula only, and *two* *Tunicæ*. In mediæval times, these *Tunicæ*,

^{460 a} A *cappa rubra* is spoken of as one of the distinctive marks of a pope in a letter of Peter Damianus, quoted at p. 221. A *cappa pavonacea* (violet colour) is worn by Roman cardinals.

⁴⁶¹ For detailed information as to the shape, size, and ornamentation of the Cope, see Bock, *L. G.* ii. 287 sqq. or Pugin's *Glossary*, in *voc.*

⁴⁶² The very form of the word *Tunacles* (instead of the more correct *Tunicles*) indicates the debased period from which the word dates. Properly speaking, the diminutive *Tunicula* answers to the *χιτώνικος* of the Greek Church, and is correctly used of any of those *shorter* forms of the Tunic, which from early times, and from associations of idea which were all but universal, served to mark *inferiority of dignity* on the part of those who wore them. They were also suggestive of the more *active ministration* required of the inferior

orders of the clerical body.

⁴⁶³ *Inventory of St. George's Chapel, Windsor*. "Item de dono Regis Henrici quarti unum vestimentum blodii coloris intextum cum albis canibus, viz., duabus frontellis, duabus ridellis [Fr. *rideaux*] una casula, duabus tunicis, tribus amictibus, cum stola et fanone²³³ ejusdem sectæ. Item unum vestimentum album bonum de panno adaurato pro principalibus festis beatæ Mariæ, cum casula, duabus tunicis, tribus albis, tribus amictibus, cum stola et fanonibus, quattuor capis ejusdem sectæ, cum diversis orfreis,³¹² et quatuor aliis capis diversæ sectæ de panno adaurato, cum duabus ridellis et toto apparatu Altaris sive frontello." [In another "*vestmentum*," three Casulæ are mentioned without any mention in detail of other vestments.] Quoted by Pugin, *G. G. A. in voc.* "*vestment*."

which in English⁴⁶⁴ Inventories appear as "Tunacles" (note 462), were in many cases of costly material, and richly embroidered. Their shape resembled that of the later Dalmatics, and may be seen in the representation of the deacon in Pl. LXI.

2. MINISTERING VESTMENTS OF A BISHOP, A.D. 1548.

In the last page of the Liturgy authorized by the Act of 1548, occurs the following rubric :

"In the saying or finging of Mattins and Evenfong, baptizing and burying, the minister in parish churches, and chapels annexed to the same, shall use a surplice. And in all cathedral churches and colleges the archdeacons, deans, provosts, masters, prebendaries, and fellows, being graduates, may use in the quire, beside their surplices, such hood as appertaineth to their several degrees. And whensoever the bishop shall celebrate the holy communion in the church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, beside his rochette, a surplice or albe, and a cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain."

Taking these in their order, we have,—

1. The Rochette⁴⁶⁵ [*Rochetum*, or *Roquetum*, It. *Rochetto*, Fr. *Rochet*.]

This is by origin a German word, of which *Rock* (a coat) is the modern form, appearing, in respect of Church usage, in the form *roquus*, as early as the tenth century, in the will of Bishop Riculfus above quoted (p. 214, note 441); and in modern German in the word "*chorrock*," i.e. quire dress, or surplice. The Rochet answers to the *colobium* of primitive use, being a *tunica talaris* without sleeves.⁴⁶⁶ It came to be assigned more especially to episcopal use, because it was suited, as the full surplice is not, to be worn under a super-vestment, such as the cope.⁴⁶⁷

2. A Surplice or Alb. These two vestments are (as their juxtaposition in this rubric intimates) slight variations of what was by origin one vestment.

⁴⁶⁴ "Item, a Chafuble of green baueikin, with tunacles of one suit, . . . with three albes of divers forts with their apparel." "A Chafuble of purple velvet . . . with two tunacles and three albes of the same suit." From Dugdale's Inventory of vestments belonging to Lincoln Cathedral, quoted by Pugin in *voc.* "Chafuble."

⁴⁶⁵ In Anglo-Saxon, *Roc*. Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, in the eleventh century, bequeathed to the use of the cathedral church, *inter alia*, (ii *dalmatica*, and iii *pißel roccas*, i.e. Epistoler's rochets). [Dr. Rock, *C. O. F.* vol. i. p. 385.]

⁴⁶⁶ Lindwodus (*apud* Dufresne) ad Provincial. Eccl. Cantuar. lib. iii. tit. 27. "Rochetum differt a superpelliceo quia superpelliceum habet manicas pendulas, sed Rochetum est sine manicis, et ordinatur pro clerico ministraturo sacerdoti, vel forsan ad opus ipsius sacerdotis in baptizando pueros ne per manicas ipsius brachia impediuntur."

⁴⁶⁷ The Chimere [It. Zimarra, Sp. Chammarra, Fr. Chamarre, or Cimarre] is itself probably a modification of a Cope. See mention of the Chimere in the *Ordo*, &c., of Archbishop Parker's consecration, quoted at p. 229, No. 3.

One of the earliest notices of the *Superpelliceum*,⁴⁶⁸ [O. Fr. Sourpelis] has been already quoted (p. 166). The first in date to speak of the *Superpelliceum* is Stephanus⁴⁶⁹ Tornacensis, towards the close of the twelfth century (born 1135 A.D., Bishop of Tournay 1192). The allusions he makes to it imply that the vestment was one which had long been in use. It was of linen, and *talare* of full length, while the *cappæ* mentioned by the same author are of wool.

It is impossible to say how long this name may been in popular use before it appeared in ecclesiastical literature. But in shape and general arrangement it is a combination into one vestment of the *tunica* and super-vestment of the primitive Christian dress, as shown in the earliest monuments of the West. [Plates XIV., XV., XVII.] And it still more closely resembles the dress which by the traditions of the Eastern Church was assigned as a sacred vestment to the Apostles. See the figure of St. James in Pl. LXIII.

The surplice is, in point of fact, a *tunica talaris*, made full and flowing, as was the primitive *tunica alba* of Christian ministry, and with sleeves which correspond to the early *Greek* type just spoken of, rather than to the comparatively small sleeve of the Roman dalmatic.

The difference between the Roman and English Surplice may be seen in Pl. LXIII. And the all but exact correspondence in appearance between our present English Surplice and Stole, of ordinary usage, and the primitive dress attributed to apostles, may be seen on reference to the central figure of the right-hand group (*Spēctator's* right) in Pl. XV.

3. The Alb has been already noticed. *Sup.* p. 223, No. 1.

4. The Vestment or Cope. *Sup.* pp. 223, 224, No. 2 and 3.

5. The "Pastoral Staff." See above, p. 222, No. 15. In the *Ordo*, &c., quoted at p. 229, it is made matter of special remark that there was no ceremonial *traditio* of a pastoral staff to the archbishop. In mediæval times this⁴⁷⁰ constituted a special ceremony of which a full account is given by Gervase of Canterbury [Rock, *C. O. F.* p. 226] at the close of the twelfth century.

6. The Hood. Both the *Casula* and the *Cappa* were originally furnished with a hood (*cuculus*, *capitium*, *cappa*) for the protection of the head. So were the *Pænula* and *Caracalla*,²⁵ of still earlier use.

Our own word *Hood* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Hod*, virtually identical with the German *Hut*, and our own more modern "hat."

⁴⁶⁸ So called as being worn over the *pelliceum*, the woollen or furred coat.

⁴⁶⁹ In his 106th letter (Migne, *P. C. C.* tom. ccxii. col. 394), which he sends with a present of a new surplice to Cardinal Albinus, and with it a sermon which he had preached shortly before "*de mystica superpellicei consec-*

tionē." In another form (*linea superpellicealis*) the word occurs in reference to the vestment of John, Archbishop of Rouen († 1076). Dufresne in *voc.*

⁴⁷⁰ Or rather the delivery of the *Crosier*. See p. 222, No. 15.

The Hood which in primitive times formed part of the super-vestment, was afterwards separated from it. Thus separated, it was lined with fur for the greater comfort (and with *costly* fur for the greater dignity) of them who wore it. The material of which it was to be made, the lining with which it was to be furnished, became matters of minute regulation. Hence the various Doctor's, Master's, Bachelor's hoods, of our present Universities.⁴⁷¹

2. THE PRAYER-BOOK OF 1552.

In the first Prayer-book, authorised by the Act of 1548, the more important of the older vestments were retained, no mention, however, being made of Amice, Girdle, or Under-Girdle, Stole, Maniple, Caligæ, and Sandalia, Mitre, Gloves, or Ring.

In the second Prayer-book a further change⁴⁷² was made. The second rubric before Morning Prayer runs as follows:

"The minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope, but, being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochette, and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only."

3. INJUNCTIONS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, A.D. 1559.

In the injunctions issued in the first year of Queen Elizabeth no mention is made of vestments. But in the interpretations appended to them by the archbishop and bishops (Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* p. 203, *seqq.*), there occurs the following direction:

"That there be used only but one apparel; as the cope in the ministration of the Lord's Supper, and the Surplice in all other ministrations."

4. PRAYER-BOOK OF 1559.

This book, the use of which was enjoined by the Parliament of 1558-1559, has the following rubric on vestments:

"And here is to be noted, that the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times of his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church, as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the

⁴⁷¹ Of similar origin is the Amefs (often confused with the Amice). The word Amefs appears in its earliest form in the Provencal *Almuffe*, in which the Arabic article is combined (as in many words dating from after the Saracen conquests in Europe) with a European word, the German *Mutze* (a cap) Sp. *Mozzo*. In mediæval Latin it is *Almutium*, in O. Fr. *Aamuçe*, now *Aumuffe*. In Spanish and Ita-

lian we find two sets of derivatives, some from the compound form, as Sp. *Almucio*, It. *Almucia*; others from the simple word, as Sp. *Muceta*, It. *Mozzetta*.

⁴⁷² The question of the vestments had in the interval been brought prominently into discussion in consequence of Bishop Hooper refusing to be consecrated unless the use of the Pontifical vestments were dispensed with.

reign of King Edward VI. according to the act⁴⁷³ of parliament set in the beginning of this book.”

5. VESTMENTS⁴⁷⁴ WORN BY THE BISHOPS AT THE CONSECRATION OF
ARCHBISHOP PARKER, DEC. 16, 1559.

1. At Morning Prayer (*mane, circiter quintam aut sextam*) and Sermon, the archbishop elect wore his doctor's gown and hood (*toga talari coccinea caputioque indutus*).

2. Sermon ended, the archbishop, and the four bishops, *facellum egrediuntur . . . se ad sacram communionem paraturi*. They return vested as follows :

α. The archbishop (elect) *linteo superpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur*.

β. The Bishop of Chichester in a Cope : *capa serica ad sacra peragenda paratus utebatur*.

γ. Two chaplains of the archbishop who assisted at holy communion wore silk copes also.

δ. The Bishop of Hereford (elect)⁴⁷⁵ and the suffragan Bishop of Bedford *linteis superpelliceis induebantur*.

ε. *Milo vero Coverdallus non nisi toga lanea talari utebatur*.

3. After the Consecration Service, and the Communion, the archbishop went out, accompanied by the four bishops, and speedily returned, “*alba episcopali, superpelliceo, chimeraque*⁴⁷⁶ (*ut vocant*) *ex nigro serico indutus, circa collum vero collare quoddam ex preciosis pellibus sabellinis (vulgo ‘sables’ vocant) confutum gestabat. Pari quoque modo Cicestrensis et Herefordensis suis episcopalibus amictibus, superpelliceo sc. et chimera*⁴⁷⁷ *uterque induebatur. D. Coverdallus vero, et Bedfordiæ suffraganeus, togis solummodo talaribus utebantur*. The archbishop then formally delivered the white wands of office to the principal persons of his household, and then left the chapel attended by them, and accompanied by the bishops.

6. THE ADVERTISEMENTS⁴⁷⁸ OF 1564.

“Item. In the ministration of the holy communion in cathedrall and

⁴⁷³ This refers to the Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer (1 Eliz.), re-enacting the second Prayer-book of Edward VI., but with certain specified alterations, whereof this of the vestment is one. The direction, however, is thus modified, “until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorised under the

great Seale of England, for causes ecclesiastical, or of the metropolitan of this realme.”

⁴⁷⁴ Rituum et ceremoniarum Ordo in consecratione, &c. Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* i. p. 243.

⁴⁷⁵ John Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, but now of Hereford elect.

⁴⁷⁶ Put forth, at the Queen's injunction, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropo-

collegiate churches, the principall minister shall use a cope, with gospeller and epistoler agreeably; and at all other prayers to be sayde at the communion table, to use no copes, but surplesse.

“Item. That the deane and prebendaries weare a surplesse with a silk hood in the quyer; and when they preach in the cathedrall or collegiate churches to weare their hood.

“Item. That every minister saying any publique prayers, or ministringe the sacraments, or other rites of the church, shall wear a comely surples with sleeves. . . .”

7. CANONS OF 1603.

XVII. “All masters and fellows of colleges or halls, and all the scholars and students in either of the universities, shall in their churches and chapels, upon all Sundays, holy days, and their eves, at the time of Divine Service, wear surplices according to the order of the Church of England; and such as are graduates shall agreeably wear with their surplices such hoods as do severally appertain unto their degrees.”

XXIV. and XXV. By the terms of these canons, the “principal minister” at the holy communion, in cathedral and collegiate churches, is to wear a decent cope. But “when there is no communion, it shall be sufficient to wear surplices. Saving that all deans, masters, and heads of collegiate churches, canons, and prebendaries, being graduates, shall daily at the times both of prayer and preaching, wear with their surplices such hoods as are agreeable to their degrees.”

PRAYER-BOOK OF 1604.

In this Book the ornaments of the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. are re-enacted as follows:

“And here is to be noted, that the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church, as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second yeere of the reigne of Edward the Sixt, according to the Acte of Parliament⁴⁷⁷ set in the beginning of this booke.”

8. PRAYER-BOOK OF 1662.

To this are prefixed, *α.* The Act I. Eliz. (see note 473); *β.* The Act of

litan, the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, Winton, and Lincoln, “Commissioners in causes ecclesiastical with others.” See Note 473 above. As to their authority, see Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* vol. i. p. 287.

The same advertisements contain some-

what minute directions for the “outwarde apparell of persons ecclesiasticall,” i.e. for their secular drefs.

⁴⁷⁷ This Act being 1 Eliz. For the uniformitie, &c., containing the modifying clause, “until other order shall be taken,” &c.

Uniformity, XIV. Carol. II. "Whereas in the first year of the late Queen Elizabeth," &c.

The rubric as to vestments is as follows :

"Here is to be noted, that such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the second ⁴⁷⁸ year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth."

⁴⁷⁸ The Parliament which authorised the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., met Oct. 15, 1548; was prorogued till Nov. 24 by reason of the Plague. The Bill for confirming "the order of divine worship," which had been drawn out "by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other learned and discreet bishops and divines," was brought in Dec. 9

to the Commons, Dec. 10 to the Lords, and was agreed to Jan. 15, 1549. The Parliament was not prorogued till March 14. And as Edward's accession dates from Jan. 28, 1547, the session is technically described as 2 and 3 Edward VI., and yet the "authority of Parliament" is said to be given to this book "*in the second year of King Edward VI.*"

PART III.

PLATES AND DESCRIPTIONS.

Frontispiece. DIPTYCH OF S. PAUL.⁴⁷⁹ Photographed from a facsimile in fictile ivory in the British Museum. Imperfectly represented, and wrongly described, as a *Consular* diptych, by Duval.

In the centre compartment is the scene described in Acts, xxviii. 1 to 6. The viper is falling from St. Paul's hand; the "fire of dried wood" is at his feet; the *πρωτος της νησου*, the chief officer of the island, is looking on in astonishment; a soldier (the dress marks him as a "barbarian") is in attendance upon him.

In the lower compartment are some of those "which had infirmities in the island," whom the soldier, mentioned above, is directing to St. Paul for healing.

In the upper compartment St. Paul⁴⁸⁰ is seated on an apostolic throne, and giving his blessing to a bishop.⁴⁸¹ In this we may probably see a trace of an early Roman tradition, coinciding with the conclusions to be drawn from Scripture, and from the epistle of St. Clement of Rome. From these it appears clear that St. Paul, and not St. Peter,⁴⁸² was the first "apostle and bishop" of Rome; though St. Peter no less than St. Paul witnessed there, by his death, for Christ. Compare p. xlii. l. 1, *ſqq.*

PLATES I. TO VII., ILLUSTRATIONS OF CLASSICAL COSTUME.

Pl. I. *The Monument of Caius Sestius.* The father (dressed in *tunica talaris* and *toga*) bids "Farewell, for ever," to his daughter.

⁴⁷⁹ The original was at one time in the possession of Baron Denon, and belongs now to M. Carrand of Lyons.

⁴⁸⁰ This is plain from a comparison of this figure with that of St. Paul in the central compartment. Contrast the figures of consuls in Plates XXII., XXIII.

⁴⁸¹ So I infer from the book of the Gospels held in the left hand, this having been

in early times the distinguishing *insigne* of a bishop. See p. xlii, and compare Plates XXX., XXXI., XLIV., XLV., XLVI., and, for the East, the figure of St. James in Pl. LXIII.

⁴⁸² This will account for the fact that in very many of the early monuments at Rome precedence is given to St. Paul over St. Peter; the former being often placed on the *right* hand of our Saviour, St. Peter on the left.

Pl. II. *From the Arch of Titus.* The Emperor, in the long garb of peaceful (p. ix, ε) rule, gives audience⁴⁸³ to his people. The figures stand around and below him illustrate the various types of dress described in Introduction, Chap. ii. p. vii, *sqq.*

Pl. III. *From the Column of Trajan.*⁴⁸⁴ The Emperor, before the Prætorian tent, offers the sacrifice known as the *Suovetaurilia*. He is clad in a *toga* (see p. xiv), and has the head covered (p. 182, No. 17); in his hand a patera. The actual sacrificers are *nudi* (note π, p. xxi), naked to the waist.

Pl. IV. *From the Arch of Constantine.* The Emperor, in the garb of war⁴⁸⁵ (p. xl, ν), addresses the people of Rome.

Pl. V. *The Ornamented Planeta*⁴⁸⁶ and the *Dalmatic*.⁴⁸⁷ The first of these figures is by most antiquaries described as dressed in a *Pænula*.⁴⁸⁸ There is little doubt that in *form* it resembles the *Pænula*, and it may be such a *Pænula* as in the fifth century (p. 197, No. 22) was worn even *intra Urbem* by senators. The ornamental *clavi* worn, as here, *upon a super-vestment*, are of very rare occurrence.

The other figure is clad in a *Dalmatic*.

Both figures are "orantes," in what was in early times the attitude of prayer.

Pl. V. *bis.* *Roman Dress*⁴⁸⁹ of the Imperial times.

1. A Roman marriage, as generally described, but rather perhaps a betrothal (*sponsalia*). For the dress of the man, see pp. x, xi. The head-dress of the bride may either be the (*Flammeum*) bridal veil, or a *Mafortis*, if the ceremony be not a marriage.

2. A mode of wearing the *Pallium*,⁴⁹⁰ common in works of late Greek or Roman art, and reproduced in many of the early frescoes and mosaics in representations of Apostles. Plates XXIX., XXXVIII., XLV.

⁴⁸³ This sculpture is intended to represent the blessings of peace and plenty restored by the emperor to Italy. FEMINARVM FOECVNDITATI GENITORVMQ SPEI CONSVLVIT PVBLICVS PARENS PER VNIVERSAM ITALIAM PVERIS PVELLISQ VLPIS (?) ALIMENTARIIS INSTITVTIS. See Bellori (*Vet. Arc. Aug.*), by whom the reliefs of this arch are fully described and figured. Compare Pliny, *Paneg.* cap. 26. *Adventante congiarii die . . . labor parentibus erat ostentare parvulos, impositisque cervicibus adulantia verba blandaque voces edocere.*

⁴⁸⁴ For a full description, see Bellori, *Colonna Traiana*.

⁴⁸⁵ Because he is here represented at the moment of his entering Rome, immediately after his victory over Maxentius, Oct. 28, A.D. 312. See Bellori, *Vet. Arc. Aug.*

⁴⁸⁶ For the *Planeta*, see Appendix C, No. 38, *sqq.*

⁴⁸⁷ See Introduction, p. lv, *sqq.*

⁴⁸⁸ See Appendix C, Nos. 1 to 25; Introduction, p. lx, *sqq.*

⁴⁸⁹ These outlines are from Weis, K. Abt. ii. fig. 376, 423; K. i. M. fig. 3, 8.

⁴⁹⁰ This term is here used, as by the Romans under the empire, as the equivalent for the Greek *ἱμάτιον*, a general term for a super-vestment, as distinct from the *χιτών*.

3. The Toga, with a sketch showing its supposed form and proportion when opened out.

4. The Pænula, with its hood attached. An outline appended, showing its *cucullus* (or "hood") as worn upon the head.

5. The *tunica talaris* (p. viii, and note λ, p. ix) *manicata*.

Pl. VI. *Greek Dress*. From Montfaucon, A. E. tom. iii. Pl. I. The smaller groups are from the Parthenon, and of the time of Pericles. The larger figures (wearing ἱμάτιον and χιτὼν) are of the Roman Period. See Boissard, Pl. 51, 123.

Pl. VI. *bis* and VII. *Roman and Greek Sacerdotal Costume*. The figures here given (from Montfaucon and Boissard) will serve to show the conventional modes of designating official priesthood in classical art. See p. xxxix, *seqq.*

Pl. VIII. and IX. *Dress of Jewish Priesthood*. These Plates, which are reproductions of those given by Dr. Bock⁴⁹¹ (*L. G.* vol. i. Pl. III., IV.), are probably near approaches to those of actual Levitical priesthood. Compare the accounts of Josephus (p. 2 to 7), and of St. Jerome (p. 10 to 19). But the mitre of the Levitical priest was probably very different from that here represented. Braunius himself, whom Dr. Bock here follows, speaks with great diffidence upon this point, and expresses his opinion that if we could determine what was the *pileolum* assigned to Ulysses⁴⁹² in works of ancient art, this would determine the real form of the Levitical cap. Such a cap is in point of fact seen in several works of art still existing,⁴⁹³ and is what we should call a "skull-cap," of the shape of the head, and "like a sphere divided in twain," as St. Jerome described it. Such a cap as that attributed to the high-priest in Pl. IX., was probably common to both orders, the difference consisting only in the insignia (pp. 6 and 19), proper to the high-priest, the additional overing, *coloris hyacinthini*, and the *lamina aurea*.

Pl. X. *The Holy Family*. From the chromolithograph of De Rossi [I. S. D. V.] This fresco, in its original place in the cemetery of S. Priscilla, occupies, strange to say, a wholly subordinate position amongst a number of unimportant figures. It is probably the oldest picture of the subject now extant. [For a very early *Eastern* representation, see Texier and Pullan, B. A. Pl. V.] The Star of Bethlehem is seen above. And De Rossi very ingeniously (but somewhat fancifully) suggests, that the standing figure is not that of St. Joseph, but the embodiment of the Jewish prophet of the older

⁴⁹¹ Dr. Bock's authority is Braunius *De Hab. Sac. Hebræorum*, a very learned writer, but one who has followed Maimonides, and other late Jewish authorities, upon some points in which they differ from Josephus and St. Jerome.

⁴⁹² *Pileolum quale pictum in Ulyssæ (al. Ulyssæo) conspicimus, quasi sphaera media sit divisa*. St. Jerome, *ad Fabiol.* quoted at p. 14.

⁴⁹³ See, for example, Gell's *Pompeii*, Pl. XV., vol. ii.

covenant, pointing to that star as the symbol of the fulfilment, in the Nativity, of the great subject of Old Testament prophecy. A comparison of this with Plates XXXVIII., XL., XLV., and XLVI., will show at a glance the difference of belief at Rome in the third or fourth century (from which, if not from an earlier time, this first representation dates), and in the ninth, and eleventh, and twelfth, to which those later pictures belong.

Pl. XI. *Our Lord blessing a young child.* From the Cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Peter. Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. p. 71. For the *virga* in the hand of our Lord, see p. xl.

Pl. XII. *Our Lord as the giver of the Divine Word.* Cemetery of St. Agnes. Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. p. 213. On either side are two Apostles, who, as well as our Lord, have the nimbus, indicating a somewhat late date for this picture. The two *capsæ*, on either side, filled with *volumina*, are intended (almost without doubt) as representations of the Old and New Testament respectively. The open *codex* in the hand of our Lord shows the later form of Book.⁴⁹⁴

Pl. XIII. *Our Lord as the Good Shepherd.* [Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. p. 111.] From a drawing made for me by a valued friend, and most accomplished artist, the late Mrs. C. Newton.

For the type of dress represented, see pp. viii and ix.

Pl. XIV. *Our Lord with Six Apostles.* From the Cemetery of St. Agnes at Rome. Aringhi, R. S. tom. ii. p. 195. On the dress here attributed to our Lord and to the Apostles, and with very slight variations perpetuated in much later monuments, see Introduction, Chaps. IV. and V.

Pl. XV. *Our Lord with the Twelve Apostles.* From the Cemetery of S. Callixtus at Rome. Aringhi, R. S. tom. i. p. 529.

Pl. XVI. *A Passover Celebration.* The *lamb* (as I suppose it to be) dressed whole, which is upon the table, the cup, and the youth, dressed, not as a slave, but as a son of the house (compare Exod. xii. 26), all indicate such an interpretation as is implied by the title I have given to this picture. Aringhi (R. S. ii. p. 119) regards it as an *Agape Funeralis*.

Pl. XVII. *The Ordination of a Deacon.* From the Cemetery of St. Hermes. Aringhi, R. S. ii. p. 329. Anastasius states (D. V. P. in Pelagio II.) that Pope Pelagius II. "made" (*fecit*) this cemetery, and held ordinations there. The style of a mosaic (Pl. XXIX.), which Pelagius constructed elsewhere, confirms the probability of the conjecture, that the fresco reproduced in this plate dates from his time. It may probably be regarded as an ideal

⁴⁹⁴ In accordance with this somewhat late date, probably the fifth century, is the curious fact that in this picture our Lord is distinguished from the two Apostles by an *Orarium*, corresponding in arrangement to those shown in Pl. IV.

representation of ordination, as proceeding ultimately from our Lord. If so, the two figures on either side will represent St. Peter and St. Paul, as the joint founders, under Christ, of the Church at Rome.

Pl. XVIII. **ΡΩΜΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΟΥ** (probably the Presbyter Romanus, martyred Nov. 17, A.D. 303) and **ΕΥΚΑΡΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΟΥ** St. Eucarpion, soldier and martyr in the Reign of Diocletian. This and the three plates which follow are from chromolithographs published by Texier and Pullan ("from careful drawings coloured on the spot") in their "Byzantine Architecture." The mosaics represented decorate the vault of the Church of St. George at Thessalonica, and are among the very few early Greek mosaics which escaped destruction either from the Iconoclasts, or at the hands of the Turks. The learned authors of the work above mentioned give reasons for their belief, that this church was built by Constantine himself during his first sojourn at Thessalonica. The dress seen in all these plates is not the dress of holy ministration (which would have been white), but the dress of solemn ceremonial, such as could appropriately be attributed, as here it is, to laymen, as well as to bishops and priests.⁴⁹⁵ For details concerning this, see Introduction, Chapters II., III., IV., and for the question of colour, Appendix A.

Pl. XIX. **ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΙΑΤΡΟΥ** and **ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ ΙΑΤΡΟΥ** SS. Cosmas and Damianus, natives of Arabia. They practised Medicine at Ægæ in Cilicia, A.D. 283.

"They traversed the country curing diseases, and demanded no other recompense from those whom they cured than that they should embrace the Christian faith. But the partisans of idolatry, believing that they worked by magic, denounced them to the Emperor (Carinus). When arrested they were ordered to deny Christ; upon their refusal they were about to be conducted to execution, when, through divine inspiration, the emperor was convinced of his error by means of a cure effected by these two Christians. The emperor and all his servants thenceforth believed in Christ; but the honours rendered to the two physicians excited the jealousy of the courtiers, and one day, when Damian and Cosmas were gathering plants upon a mountain, they were surprised and put to death." *Byz. Archit.* p. 141.

Pl. XX. **ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚ** and **ΘΕΡΙΝΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤ** *i.e.* Philip, Bishop of Heraclea; Therinus, soldier and martyr.

"Philip was Bishop of the town of Heraclea, in the fourth century. . . . Bassus, being Governor of Thrace, sent the procurator Aristomachus, to close the church and seize the treasure. Philip still persisted in performing services under the portico, and in exhorting Christians to remain steadfast in the faith: for this he was sent to the stake. . . ." *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁵ Slight variations may, however, be noticed as between the dress attributed to a bishop (Pl. XX.) and a presbyter (Pl. XVIII.), compared with that of the laymen.

Of Therinus nothing is known with certainty, save what the title of "soldier," here given him, indicates. His position relatively to St. Philip makes it probable that he was of the same province (Macedonia) and probably an officer, or soldier, of the Macedonian Legion.

Pl. XXI. **ΟΝΗΣΙΦΟΡΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΣ and ΠΟΡΦΟΙΡΙΟΥ.**

"Onesiphorus and Porphyrius . . . suffered martyrdom on the same day. Onesiphorus was a native of Iconium, and a relative of the Empress Tryphæne. He lived at Iconium, and having received there the Apostle Paul, he was instructed by him, and baptized with his whole household. Having become a Christian he quitted Iconium and went to dwell at Paros, where he preached the Christian doctrine; but having been seized by the order of the Archon, at the same time as his servant Porphyrius, he was tortured and afterwards put to death by being tied to the tail of a spirited horse, and dragged over a stony road. Porphyrius suffered the same torture, and died with his master." Texier and Pullan, B. A. p. 140.

Pl. XXII. *Diptych of Boethius, Consul of the West, A.D. 510.* For the history of the diptych, and a statement of the various questions suggested by it, see Gori, *Thef. Diptych*, tom. i. p. 137, *sqq.* A comparison of this with Pl. XXIII. will show the identity (with very slight modifications only) of official costume in New and Old Rome, in the sixth century, and will indicate the probable source of the Omophorion, worn (as matter of privilege) by Patriarchs and Metropolitans in the East, and, out of usage rather than of theoretical right, by almost all bishops.

Pl. XXIII. *Diptych of Clementinus, Consul of the East, A.D. 513.* For a description of this diptych, see M. D. Wyatt, *Notices of Sculpture in Ivory*, p. 6; Gori, *Thef. Dipt.* i. p. 229, *sqq.* This, and the following Plate, are photographed, by permission, from the facsimile, in fictile ivory, published by the Arundel Society.

Pl. XXIV. *Diptych of St. Gregory the Great, in the Costume, and with the Insignia,⁴⁹⁶ of a Consul.* This singular monument, assigned by antiquaries to the year 700, or thereabouts, now forms the cover of an antiphonary, presented by St. Gregory to Theodolinda, Queen of the Lombards. It is preserved in the Treasury of the Cathedral at Monza.⁴⁹⁷ The received opinion among the older antiquaries was, that this was originally a consular diptych, converted into a representation of St. Gregory. Fuller information, however, has led the most eminent modern antiquaries to regard this as an original work. The inscription above the bishop's head is thus worded: GREGORIUS PRÆZVL MERITIS ET NOMINE DIGNV VNDE GENVS DVCIT MERITVM CONSCENDIT HONOREM.

⁴⁹⁶ The *Mappa* in the r. h. of a consul (thrown into the arena as a signal for the games to commence), as in Plates XXII., and XXIII., may here perhaps be interpreted as a

Mappula, or Maniple.

⁴⁹⁷ Photographed, by permission, for this work, from the facsimile of the Arundel Society.

Pl. XXV. *Picture of St. Gregory the Great, of his Father Gordianus, and his Mother Sylvia.* This picture corresponds with the description⁴⁹⁸ given of the original by Joannes Diaconus, in the tenth century. Roman antiquaries constantly refer to it as authentic; and Cardinal Baronius, who had opportunities of knowing its history, and Papebrochius (AA. SS. Maius Propyl. p. 177) publish it as such. Reference is made to a *tabula æri incisa* used by Baronius, but the actual drawings (if any), of older date, from which this derived, are not specified.

Pl. XXVI. *The Ascension.* Facsimile of an illustration in a Syriac MS. of the Gospels, written A.D. 586, at Zagba, in Mesopotamia, and acquired for the Library of the Medici, at Florence, A.D. 1497. The picture represents the Ascension. The dresses of the Apostles correspond exactly with those assigned to them in early Roman frescoes and mosaic pictures. It is noticeable that in this picture we have already traces, slight in themselves, of a tendency to exalt the blessed Virgin to a position beyond that assigned to her in Holy Scripture, or in the earlier monuments of Christian antiquity. She here occupies the central place amid the Apostles, as present at the Ascension, an event with which, in the narrative of Scripture, she is not in any way connected. And to her, as to our Lord and to the angels, the nimbus is assigned, though the Twelve have it not. In these respects this picture forms a connecting link, in the thought implied, as in the time from which it dates, between Pl. X., and XXXVIII. [From Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire*, &c., vol. v. Pl. XXVII.]

Pl. XXVII. *Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, and Ammonius of Alexandria.* [From the same MS. as No. XXVI.] After Asseman. Bib. Med. Pl. III.

Pl. XXVIII. *The Emperor Justinian, and Archbishop Maximianus, at the Consecration of the Church of S. Vitalis, at Ravenna.* From a mosaic dating, probably, from the close of the sixth century. The Archbishop wears a Dalmatic under a Planeta.⁴⁹⁹ Over the Planeta is a Pallium of the older⁴⁸⁰ form and arrangement, and in his hand a jewelled cross. The two personages

⁴⁹⁸ Joan. Diac. D. G. P. lib. iv. cap. 83. 84. In this description, note particularly the following concerning St. Gregory's dress: "Planeta super Dalmaticam castanea: evangelium in sinistra, modus crucis in dextra: pallio mediocri, a dextro videlicet humero sub pectore super stomachum circulatim deducto: deinde sursum per sinistrum humerum veniens propria rectitudine non per medium corporis sed ex latere pendet: circa verticem vero tabulae" (the "square nimbus," so called) "similitudinem, quod viventis insigne est, præferens, non coronam" (the "nimbus"). The Pallium described is evidently such as that ascribed to Leo III. in the drawing at p. lii. The language of John the deacon implies that

in his own time (tenth century) the form and arrangement of the pallium had undergone a change. Compare cap. 80 of the same book, whence it appears that the pallium was in St. Gregory's time of *linen* and *nullis accubitis* (i.e. *acubus*³²²) perforatum.

⁴⁹⁹ As to the colour of this Planeta it is difficult to speak with authority. Ciampini speaks of it as *aurea*. Hefner-Altenek (Pl. XCI) in his coloured drawing represents it as a very dull green, the Dalmatic white, with black stripes; and Gally Knight (E. A. Pl. X.) both figures and describes the whole dress as white. All the coloured drawings that I have seen represent the *lora* (or *clavi*) as black.

on his left (probably archdeacon and deacon) wear Dalmatics of the older form, with black *clavi* (not clearly shown in this Plate), and corresponding stripes at the edge of the sleeve. [After Gally Knight, E. A. Pl. X]

Pl. XXIX. *A mosaic, dating from the close of the Sixth Century, from the Church of S. Laurentius, at Rome.* The figures represented are our Lord, S. PETRVS and S. PAVLVS, S. LAVRENTIVS and S. STEPHANVS, S. YPPOLIT (St. Hippolytus) and PELAGIVS EPISC. (Bishop of Rome from 578 to 590). Pelagius is without the nimbus assigned to the other six personages, and wears the dress traditionally attributed to our Lord and the Apostles. [From a drawing in Her Majesty's Collection.] The figure of Pelagius has been in great part destroyed by accident, and is here represented as restored by Roman antiquaries. In one particular,⁵⁰⁰ not of importance to this inquiry, the arrangement of the two figures on the spectator's left is probably incorrect.

Pl. XXX. SCS CORNELIVS PP. (Bishop of Rome A.D. 251-252), and SCS CIPRIANVS (Bishop of Carthage A.D. 248-258). [From a fresco lately discovered by Chevalier De Roffi, and dating⁵⁰¹ (probably) from the close of the eighth century.]

Pl. XXXI. Fresco of the same date⁵⁰¹ as the above, in which are represented S. XVSTVS [Bishop of Rome from A.D. 257 to A.D. 259], and a contemporary Bishop [SCS. O. perhaps St. Optatus] of some unknown see.

Pl. XXXII. *The TRICLINIVM LATERANVM*.⁵⁰² A portion of the Banquet-room of the Lateran Palace, built and decorated with mosaics by Leo III., at the beginning of the ninth century.

Pl. XXXIII. *Two groups from the Mosaics of the TRICLINIVM LATERANVM*.⁵⁰² In the one our Lord bestows a Pallium (symbol of ecclesiastical authority), upon St. Sylvester, and a *Vexillum* (symbol of imperial rule) upon CONSTANTINVS REX. In the other, St. Peter gives a Pallium to D. N. SCTISSIMVS LEO PP. (Dominus noster Sanctissimus Leo Papa); and a *Vexillum* to CAROLVS REX (Charlemagne). By these two groups is symbolised the Divine origin of both spiritual and temporal power; and the alliance, and partition of the two, in the person of the Pope and the Emperor. A more exact representation of this Plate, photographed

⁵⁰⁰ According to one restoration the model of the church is held in the hands of Pope Pelagius, so as to designate him as the restorer of the church.

⁵⁰¹ As to the date of these monuments see De Roffi, R. S. p. 298 to 304. He pronounces them to be "certainly not older" than the seventh century, and mentions various reasons for attributing them to the ponti-

ficatus of Leo III.

⁵⁰² For full details concerning this monument see Alemannus, *De Parietinis Lateranensis*, from which the above drawings are taken. The first is altogether, and the second in great part, a restoration, authority for which was found in drawings preserved in the Vatican, after the original itself (even as restored by Leo IV.) had been in great part destroyed.

from a drawing in Her Majesty's collection, will be found at p. lii. See description of woodcuts below.

Pl. XXXIV. to XXXVI.⁵⁰³ A series of illustrations from the *Liber Pontificalis* of Landolfus, a MS. of the ninth century, in the Library of S. Minerva, at Rome. These represent the Costume and Insignia, and the modes of Ordination, regarded as proper to priests, deacons, sub-deacons, exorcists, and the other minor orders, at the period in question.

Pl. XXXIV. *Ordination of Ostiarii (doorkeepers) and of Lectores (readers).*

1. The Bishop delivers to the Doorkeepers the keys of the Church. *Tra-dendo eis claves ecclesiæ Dei.*

2. The *Ostiarii* prostrate themselves before the Bishop to receive his blessing. *Prosternuntur ante pontificem.*

3. Ordination of Readers. *Tradidit eis episcopus codicem.*

4. The Bishop gives his blessing to the Readers. *Deinde prostratis in terram (benedicit).*

Pl. XXXV. *Ordination of Exorcists, Acolytes, Sub-deacons, and Deacons.*

5. The Bishop gives a book to the Exorcists. *Exorcistis tradit episcopus libellum.*

6. The Bishop hands a candlestick to the Acolyte. *Acolitis tradit episcopus cerosstatam.*

7. The Sub-deacons receive the Paten and the Chalice. *Subdiaconi patenam et calicem.*

8. The Bishop lays the *Orarium* (Stole) on the left shoulder of the Deacon. *Ponens oraria super humeros.*

Pl. XXXVI. *Ordination of Deacons and Priests.*

9. The Bishop bestows Benediction on the Deacons. *Dum in terram prostrati fuerint.*

10. Ordination of Priests. The Bishop places the *Orarium* (Stole) about their necks. *Oraria super colla eorum.*

11. They bow the head to receive imposition of hands, and episcopal Benediction. *Super quos inclinatis capitibus (benedicit).*

12. The Bishop anoints their right hands, tracing thereon the sign of the Cross. *Cum pollice dexteræ faciens crucem.*

⁵⁰³ From the outlines published by Seroux d'Agincourt. Facsimiles of the original drawings are in the author's possession.

Pl. XXXVII. *A Bishop giving the Chrism to a newly baptized Infant.* From a Latin MS. of the ninth century, in the Library of the S. Minerva, at Rome.⁵⁰⁴

Pl. XXXVIII. *The Virgin Mother and Holy Child.* The former wears a royal diadem, and a dress of purple and gold, with scarlet shoes (insignia of royalty). On either side are, *r.* S. IACOBVS and S. IOANNES; *l.* S. PETRVS and S. ANDREAS. This mosaic dates from *circ.* 848 A.D. [Photographed from a drawing in Her Majesty's Collection.]

See above on Plates X. and XXVI.

Pl. XXXIX. *Pope Nicholas I.* [*sed.* A.D. 858–867] and the *Emperor Lewis II.* [*regn.* A.D. 843–876.] From the *Chartularium Prumiense*, a MS.⁵⁰⁵ partly of the ninth century, partly of later date, in the Stadtbibliothek, at Treves. The Cap here worn by the Pope is not a *Mitra*, but a *Camelaucium*, so called. Compare Florovantes, *Ant. Pontif. Rom. Den.* p. 37. He is speaking of a coin of Hadrianus I. *Figura in medio Pontificali habitu et bireto, quod Camelaucium ab Anastasio in Constantino, hodie vero Camaurum dicitur.* The first change of head-dress on the coins is early in the tenth century. Describing a coin of Sergius III. (*sed.* 904–911), Flor. says, p. 63, *Sergium III. pontificia veste indutum, et mitra ornatum, hic exhibet nummus*; at in superioribus nummis Pontificum capita camelaucio tantum tecta visuntur: *quæ res mire favet eorum sententiæ qui Pontifices serius mitram gestasse arbitrantur.* These facts bear out the opinion already expressed (note 265, p. 129), that the *Mitra* had been introduced at Rome before the time (close of eleventh century) of St. Ivo's writing. Compare Appendix F, No. 12. But they throw back the *Mitra* at Rome itself to a somewhat earlier date than most modern antiquaries have assigned to it. [The book above quoted is of great rarity. But these coins are figured in another work, the *Memoria di Domenico Promis. Monete dei Rom. Pontef.* Torino, 1858.] See further on Pl. XLVII.

Pl. XL. A fresco from the hypogæan Church of S. Clemente, at Rome (lately discovered). It presents a picture of the Assumption, and contains a representation of Leo IV., and S. Vitus. This picture, when first discovered, was supposed, by such of the Roman clergy as were not antiquaries, to prove the recognition of the doctrine of the Assumption as early as the second or third centuries. They forgot that, though the walls on which these frescoes are painted are undoubtedly very ancient, it by no means follows that the paintings upon them are of the same date. The square nimbus (*quod viventis insigne est*, Joan. Diac. note 498) on the head of Leo IV., and the position assigned him in the picture, indicate that he was the giver of this fresco. SANCTISSIMVS DOM. LEO QRT. PP. ROM. may be seen inscribed about his head. The signature QVOD HÆC PRÆ CVNCTIS FVLGET PICTVRA COLORE COMPOSERE HANC STVDVIT PRESBYTER ECCE LEO shows that he gave the picture before he became Pope, and that the smaller inscrip-

⁵⁰⁴ Photographed from a drawing in Her Majesty's collection.

⁵⁰⁵ This Plate is from Ramboux (Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte, u. s. w.).

tion was added somewhat later, probably soon after his death. A.D. 855. [On the title *Papa Romanus*, derived from the earlier times of the Church, when there were other "Papæ" even in the West, beside the Bishop of Rome, see De Rossi, R. S. p. 303, and Dufresne, *in voc.*]

Pl. XLI. The Emperor Constantine VI. presiding at the Seventh General Council (so called), held at Nicæa, A.D. 787. From a Greek MS. of the tenth century, the *Menologium Græcorum*, &c., in the Vatican Library. This Plate is from the outline published by Seroux d'Agincourt. An accurate copy of the original is in the author's possession. The Sticharia of the bishops, as well as their Phænolia, are coloured. The Phænolion of the bishop on the emperor's left (Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople), is lavender purple; the others (apparently) black and gold. Two of the patriarchs here represented, though *supposed to be present* (by their deputies), had not even heard of the Council, the occupation of the country by the Saracens preventing communication. The prostrate figure represents the "defeated party," in this case the Iconoclasts. The determinations of this Council were fully sanctioned by the Pope (Hadrian I.), as before by his legates. But Charlemagne summoned another Council of three hundred bishops, at Frankfort, A.D. 794, at which the authority of this Nicene Council (claiming to be the Seventh General Council) was rejected, and its decrees reversed. [An entirely different account is given by most of the Roman authorities. For the above, and the evidence on which it rests, see Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 652.]

Pl. XLII. Egbertus, Archbishop of Treves (*sed.* 975 to 993), receives a book offered to him by Keraldus Augiensis and another Benedictine Monk. This picture forms the title-page of an Evangeliarium, written at the close of the tenth century. [From the drawing of Ramboux.]

Pl. XLIII. *St. Clement at the Altar.* The miraculous blinding of Sisinus. [The same subject in one of the frescoes of the Church of St. Mark, at Venice. Kreutz, *Mos. Sec.* &c., tav. xxiii.] The donors of this fresco, Beno de Rapiza, and Maria his wife, are represented *de more* at the left of the picture; and *of small size* (compare Pl. XLI.) in token of humility. There is strong internal evidence, to an antiquarian eye, of the late date of this picture. And I hear that diplomatic evidence, lately discovered at Rome, shows that Beno de Rapiza and his wife lived in the eleventh century.

Pl. XLIV. *St. Gregory the Great and St. Dunstan.* From a MS. of the eleventh century, in the British Museum. St. Gregory wears a Mitre of the earliest form, the *tæniæ* or *fasciæ* of which hang down on either side, so as to appear like large earrings. The archbishop (who also wears a Mitre) is kneeling, with two monks, at St. Gregory's feet, and embracing them. The dove whispering, as it were, into the ear, is an emblem of divine inspiration. For further details, see the great work of Professor Westwood (*Miniatures and Ornaments*, &c., p. 126) to which I owe this more correct description of the picture.

Pl. XLV. The Blessed Virgin, as the Queen of Heaven, seated on the same throne with our Lord. In her hand a scroll (painted black in the

drawing at Windsor, from which this is photographed) on which in the original are inscribed the words *Læva ejus sub capite meo* (Cant. ii. 6; viii. 3). The figures on either side are (on the spectator's left) INNOCENTIVS PP., (Innocent II. *fed.* A.D. 1130–1143, the donor of this mosaic), LAVRENTIVS (St. Laurence carrying a cross, as in Pl. XXIX.) CORNELIVS PP. On the r. PETRVS, CALIXTVS PP. IVLIVS PP. and CALEPODIVS PRESBYTER. [From a drawing in Her Majesty's collection, as is Pl. XLVI. which follows.]

Pl. XLVI. PRÆSIDET ÆTHEREIS PIA VIRGO MARIA CHOREIS. [A mosaic⁵⁰⁶ in the apse of the Oratory of St. Nicolaus, at Rome, commenced by Calixtus II., and completed⁵⁰⁷ by Anastasius II.] The inscription on this mosaic is too characteristic of the times to be omitted :

SVSTVLIT HOC PRIMO TEMPLVM CALLIXTVS AB IMO
VIR CLARVS LATE GALLORVM NOBILITATE.
VERVM ANASTASIVS PAPATVS CVLMINE QVARTVS
HOC OPVS ORNAVIT VARIISQVE MODIS DECORAVIT.

Pl. XLVII. Pope Innocent II. giving Benediction to Abbot Adalbero. From an interpolated copy of the *Chartularium Prumiense*, now in the Stadtbibliothek, at Treves. For the History of the MS., see Ramboux. The greater part of it dates from 1222 A.D. But there have been additions to it, of which this picture must be one. For the triple crown, here shown, points to the fourteenth century. According to Roman antiquaries of the highest repute, the double crown (significant of spiritual and temporal power combined) was introduced by Boniface VIII. A.D. 1299–1303, (Alemannus, *De P. L.* cap. 13, p. 129; and Florovantes, *Ant. Pont. Rom. Den.* p. 57); and the triple crown by Urbanus V. (A.D. 1362–1370). Compare AA. SS. Maius. Propyl. p. 419.

Pl. XLVIII. From a MS. written by Matthew Paris (*circ.* 1250) in the British Museum. Cotton MSS., Nero D. I.

α. Pope Adrian I. receives a letter from Offa II., King of Mercia.

β. The Pope's sanction having been obtained, the archiepiscopal see is transferred from Canterbury, in the "Kingdom of Kent," to Lichfield, in the "Kingdom of Mercia." Eadulfus is consecrated the first Archbishop of Lichfield.⁵⁰⁸

This transaction here recorded had an important influence on the subsequent history of the English Church in its relation to the Roman See. Cf. Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. i. p. 243, *sqq.*

⁵⁰⁶ Compare AA. SS. Maius Propyl. p. 320, where this mosaic is figured and described; and Muratori, R. I. S. tom. ii. p. 417.

⁵⁰⁷ In this I follow Papebrochius (AA. SS. *ubi supra*), who further expresses his belief, that the principal figure in this group was intended by Calixtus for our Lord, but that this was considerably altered by Anastasius, and changed into the figure of the Virgin here exhibited. A similar change has been made in a mosaic of the fifth century. The original state of this is delineated by

Ciampini, M. V. i. p. 200, the Saviour (with the nimbus) being seated on a throne, whilst the Virgin mother stood near. "As this group is now before us, the erect figure is left out; the seated one is converted into that of Mary, with a halo round the head, although in the original even such attribute (alike given to the Saviour and to all the angels introduced) is not assigned to her." Hemans' History, &c., p. 207. With what he says of the nimbus, compare what is said above on Pl. XXVI.

⁵⁰⁸ The crowns of the two principal personages in this picture have been deliberately

Pl. XLIX. [From the same MS.]

α. King Offa gives investiture to Willegoda, first Abbot of St. Albans.

β. The King and the Abbot kneel on either side of the altar, on which is laid the charter bestowed by the king.

Pl. L. *The Council of Constance.* "Erle Richard (of Warwick), and Robert Halain, Bishop of Salisbury, with other worshipful perſones, ambaffiatours of king Henry the Fifth to the general counfell of Conſtance, are honourably and honeſtly received by the pope and the clergy, by the Emperor Sygeſmonde and the temporalte." [From a MS. of the fifteenth century. Cotton MSS. Julius, E iv.] The inſcription is of later date than the MS.

Pl. LI. "Howe kyng Henry the VIth, beyng in his tender age, was crowned kyng of Englonde at Weſtminſtre with great ſolempnytie." [From ſame MS. as Pl. 6.]

The biſhops all wear copes.

Pl. LII. *The Coronation of the Emperor Sigismund.* *α.* He is crowned by Pope Eugenius IV., *β.* The ſolemn cavalcade of the Pope and the Emperor, *γ.* The governor of the Caſtle of St. Angelo awaits their approach.

Pl. LIII. to LV. Baſſi Relievi commemorative of the Council of Florence, A.D. 1440.

Pl. LIII. The Emperor Palæologus, accompanied by the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and attended by the officers of his houſehold, *α.* Embarks at Conſtantinople, *β.* Croſſes the Adriatic in the Venetian Gallies, *γ.* Lands at Venice, *δ.* Is publicly received by Pope Eugenius IV., to whom he makes ſubmiſſion. [*This laſt Scene is wholly imaginary, nothing of the kind having really occurred.*]

Pl. LIV. Pope Eugenius IV. and the Emperor Palæologus at the Council of Florence, July 6, A.D. 1440. The Cardinal Preſbyter, Julianus Cæſarinus, and other great Roman officials, are to the right of the Pope, Beſſarion (Archbiſhop of Nicæa) and others of the Greeks on the Emperor's right. The Emperor, *α.* Leaves Florence in State, attended by his Court; and *β.* Embarks at Venice for Conſtantinople. [The figure ſtanding on the left of the Emperor repreſents the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, who died before the Council ſeparated.]

Pl. LV. Envoys from Æthiopia and from other Eaſtern Churches, deputed (A.D. 1441) to attend the Council of Florence, and make ſubmiſſion to the Pope. They are received by Eugenius IV., who hands to Abbot Andreas, their ſpokeſman, the definitions agreed to by the Council.

The four Relievi above deſcribed have been copied at Rome for the illuſtration of this work. They were executed by Antonio Philarete, of

defaced, and redrawn in ink, within a comparatively recent period. They are reſtored here to their original ſtate by compariſon with the engravings of Strutt, M. and C. vol. ii. and with other drawings in the ſame MS.

Of three crowns figured above (copied from later drawings in this MS), two (No. 2 and 3) are aſſigned to the Emperor, the third (No. 1) to the Empreſs.

Florence, at the command of Eugenius IV., and now form part of the great Gates of St. Peter's. In some important particulars they represent events not as they really did occur, but as according to Roman theory they ought to have occurred. For further particulars concerning them, see the *Basilica Vaticana*, of Valentini, Pl. XXII., &c. And for the true history of this Council, see Ffoulkes, *Divisions of Christendom*, part ii. p. 332, *sqq.*

Pl. LVI. 1. The Epitrachelion³⁴⁸ of Bishop Nikita, † 1167 A.D. 2 and 3. The ἐπιμανίκια³⁵⁰ of the same Bishop. 4. The ὠμοφόριον³⁵⁵ of Archbishop Moses, † 1329 A.D.

Pl. LVII. A leathern breastplate⁵⁰⁹ ("Rational") and girdle, found in a coffin in the Church of the Passion at Moscow. [This cannot be older than the tenth century, when Christianity was first introduced into Russia. From what later time it dates I have not the means of knowing. This is a wholly exceptional instance in the Greek Church of a direct imitation of the Jewish "Rational." But King (*Greek Church*, p. 39) states, that in Russia, two jewelled ornaments are worn upon the breast by Metropolitans, which "are imagined to be taken from the Urim and Thummim, on Aaron's breastplate." For a similar (local) usage in the West, in the twelfth century, see notes 256 and 263.]

Pl. LVIII. *Costume of the Greek Church.*

1. St. Sampson. He wears a φαινόλιον,³⁵¹ answering to the Latin chafuble, over the Sticharion (p. LXIII. v.), or white tunic. The ends of the Peritrachelion¹⁴⁴ (answering to the Latin Stole) are seen pendent under the Phænolion.

2. St. Methodius. In this Figure the Polystaurion³⁵³ takes the place of the plain Phænolion: the Genual⁵¹⁰ is seen pendent (as in the next figure, that of S. Germanus) on the right side; and on the outside of the Polystaurion is seen the Omophorion,³⁵⁵ which corresponds to the Pallium of the Roman Church, but is worn in the East by almost all bishops.

3. St. Germanus. The Sticharion, or Alb, is here distinguished by the λώγια,¹⁴⁶ or stripes proper to a bishop (Goar, *Euchol.* p. 110). He wears a Sakkos in place of the ordinary Phænolion, and thus marks³⁵² his dignity as a Metropolitan. In other respects he wears the same vestments as those last described. [In Russia the Sakkos is now worn by all bishops, See King's *Greek Church*, p. 40.]

Pl. LIX. 1. *The Patriarch Bekkos, in Walking Dress.* He wears on his head the outer and the inner καμηλαύχιον; and in his left hand carries the καπάσιον (also known as κάπελλος), the strings of which (καμίλαβα) are seen pendent below it.

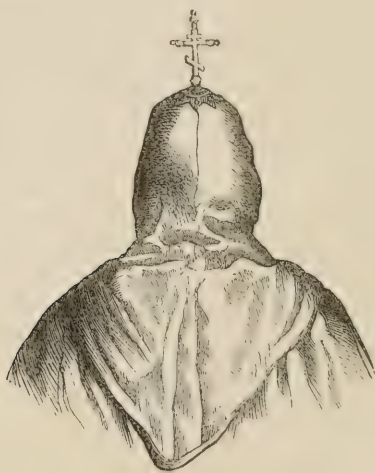
⁵⁰⁹ This and the Plate last described are from the *Antiquités de l'Empire de Russie*, lately published by the Russian Government. The first volume of this work contains many ecclesiastical monuments of great interest.

⁵¹⁰ *Genuale* is the rendering given by Latin writers to ἐπιγονάτιον³⁴⁹ as "hanging down to the knee," a distinctive ornament outside the Sakkos,³⁵² worn by Patriarchs and metropolitan.

The long-sleeved coat, worn as a body-dress, corresponds to the cassock of an English clergyman. The outer garment is the Mandyas, with its three stripes (ποταμοί, see Note 343, p. 168). In his right hand he holds the δικανίκιον, or ῥάβδος. See Note 345, p. 168.

2. St. Macarius. This figure shows the characteristic ministering dress of a Deacon, viz a close-fitting Sticharion (answering to the Alb of the Latin Church) and an Orarion (ἀράχιον), or Deacon's Stole, having the word ΑΓΙΟC, thrice repeated, embroidered upon it. [This and Pl. LIX. are from Goar's *Euchologion*.]

Pl. LX. *Patriarch Nikon (circ. 1650, A.D.) in his Cowl*. This Plate is from the same source as Pl. LVI. and LVII. The accompanying woodcut shows the back of the same Cowl.



Pl. LXI. This Plate is given with a view to the reader understanding of the shape, and relative position, of the various vestments and insignia now worn in the Roman Church, and described in Appendix F. The central figure is from Bock *L. G.* Band ii. The figures of the Priest and Deacon from Pugin's *Glossary*.

Pl. LXIII. Four figures illustrating the variations in the white dress recognised at various times, and in various branches of the Church, as specially appropriate to offices of Holy Ministry. That on the left is the figure of an Apostle from the Roman Catacombs.⁵¹¹ The next of St. James (wearing an Omophorion), from the Church of St. Sophia, at Trebizond, dating from the 14th century,⁵¹² accidentally discovered not long since, by the fall of the plaster with which it had been overlaid by the Turks. The third is from a fresco

⁵¹¹ After Aringhi *R. S.* tom. ii. p. 213.

⁵¹² Texier and Pullan *B.A.* Pl. LXV. They attribute the Church (though upon no very

certain data) to the Emperor Alexis III., circ. 1350.

at Florence, a group in which a priest (here represented) is saying the last office beside a dying man. The fourth is a canon of an English Collegiate Chapter, and, as such, has the Scarf (or broad Stole) worn, out of customary usage, by Doctors of Divinity, cathedral dignitaries, and others. This prepared the way for the use of the Stole, which for the last twenty years, or thereabouts, has been very generally adopted in the English Church, presenting nearly the appearance of the black *clavi* on the Tunic of the Apostle in this Plate, and in others figured in this Volume.

LIST OF WOODCUTS.

P. vi. The Adoration of the Magi. From the Cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Peter. Aringhi, *R. S.* tom. ii. p. 117.

P. xv. A figure in the attitude of Prayer (comp. Mark, xi. 25 (ὅταν στήκητε προσευχόμενοι): Matt. vi. 5; Luke, xviii. 11, &c.), wearing a short Tunic and a supervestment of peculiar shape. From the Cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Peter. Aringhi, *R. S.* tom. ii. p. 111.

P. xxvi. Our Lord administering the Bread and the Cup to the Eleven Disciples. From a Syriac MS. of the year 586, A.D. See description of Pl. XXVI.

P. xliii. The Prophet Malachi. From the same MS. as Pl. XXVI. above described. For the "roll of a book" in the hand see p. xl., *sqq.*

P. lii. [From a Drawing in Her Majesty's Collection.] This represents the actual state of the mosaic nearly two hundred years ago. A comparison with Pl. XXXIII., already described, will be suggestive of the manner in which, as regards minor details, antiquaries vary in their representation of the same objects. The *keys* in St. Peter's lap, for example, figured by Alemannus, are nowhere to be seen here. And the Pallium of Leo, arranged *more Romano* by Alemannus, has the older form (preserved by the Greek ἀμοφορέιον), as depicted in the present woodcut. And there are slight variations in the inscription⁵¹³ (DN. CAROLVS REX in one; DN. CAROLO REGI in the other).

P. lxxvi. An "Orante" (Female) in Dalmatic, and veil (*mafortis*). From the same source as the woodcut in p. xv, already described.

P. lxxxiv. Ancient Glass. From the Roman Catacombs.⁵¹⁴ This specimen is figured and described by Garrucci (*V. A.* tav. xxv. fig. 3), as follows:

A man, and a lady at his left hand, are here figured. They have their hands raised in prayer. Between them is the monogram; and below this a "*volumen*," or scroll. On the spectator's left is a bishop's throne, or chair of state (*una cattedra*); above this, another monogram (which he describes);

⁵¹³ BICTORIĀ is for VICTORIĀ, according to a variation of very frequent occurrence in Roman inscriptions.

⁵¹⁴ From an engraving kindly lent to me by the present possessor of the specimen, Mr. C. Wilshire.

behind it a mountain coloured green, from which flows a golden stream. On the top of this mountain is a tree, with fruit thereon. There is a superscription DIGNITAS AMIC.⁵¹⁴ Then after describing the dress, he goes on to say, that this had once been supposed to represent SS. Perpetua and Felicitas. But one of the figures, which, as he says, is clearly that of a man, he thinks is very like that of S. Laurentius, in tav. xx. 7 (it is difficult to trace the resemblance); and the female figure, he adds, may be St. Agnes. The dress does nearly resemble that attributed to St. Agnes in other specimens of glass, the fact being that it is the rich costume worn by Roman ladies of high rank at that time. A comparison of tav. xxvi. No. 11 and 12, in the same volume, suggests what I venture to think is the real explanation of the figures before us. They are man and wife, people of high rank: the "scroll" between them represents the *tabulæ matrimoniales*; ⁵¹⁵ the coin just below the roll, the marriage dowry: the bishop's chair ⁵¹⁶ is suggestive of the Church, and more particularly of the *Cathedral Church*, as we should call it; and the tree with its fruits, probably of the Tree of Life. I have a third explanation to mention, not my own, but that of a gentleman who, at a recent Church Congress, referred to this glass as an undoubted representation of a *priest vested in a Chasuble*. It is to be regretted that he did not give an explanation of the lady at "the priest's" side, or of the DIGNITAS AMIC of the inscription. For myself I confess to some surprise, that anybody, having the slightest acquaintance with antiquity, should have ventured to assert, without any doubt or hesitation, that "*on this glass is depicted a priest, vested in just such a Chasuble as may now be seen in Ritualistic Churches.*" ⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁴ A mistake of the original workmen for DIGNITAS AMIC. The full inscription (for which these words stand representative) is DIGNITAS AMICORVM VIVAS CVM TVIS FELICITER. So in tav. ii. Or as on yet another specimen, DIGNITAS AMICORVM PIE ZESES CVM TVIS OMNIBVS BIBE ET PROPINA. By the phrase *Dignitas Amicorum*, we may understand either "digni amici," or "honoured by all thy friends," ("Orgueil de tes amis." Gar).

⁵¹⁵ S. Augustine's Serm. xxxviii de Proverb. c. 31 (*apud Garrucci*) "Unaquæque conjux bona . . . tabulas matrimoniales instrumenta

emtionis suæ deputat." Compare Martigny, D. A. C. in voc. "marriage."

⁵¹⁶ In the other specimens (figured by Garrucci, as above) in which man and wife are represented, the Church (and through this their Christian faith) is typically suggested by a pillar or column. [So Garrucci, a very learned author, whose work will repay a careful study.]

⁵¹⁷ Dr. Littledale. Report of Wolverhampton Church Congress (1867), p. 279. I have reproduced the engraving above described, that my readers may form their own opinion upon the matter.

N.B.—The Plates, above described, as being from Her Majesty's Collection at Windsor, are from Coloured Drawings by Santo Bartoli and others, in which the Mosaic Pictures of the Roman Churches, and other objects of antiquarian interest, are depicted as they existed more than 150 years ago. The Collection was originally made for Cardinal Albano (afterwards Clement XI.), and is now the property of Her Majesty. These Drawings bear marks of having been very accurately copied, and contain a number of important details which are not to be found elsewhere.

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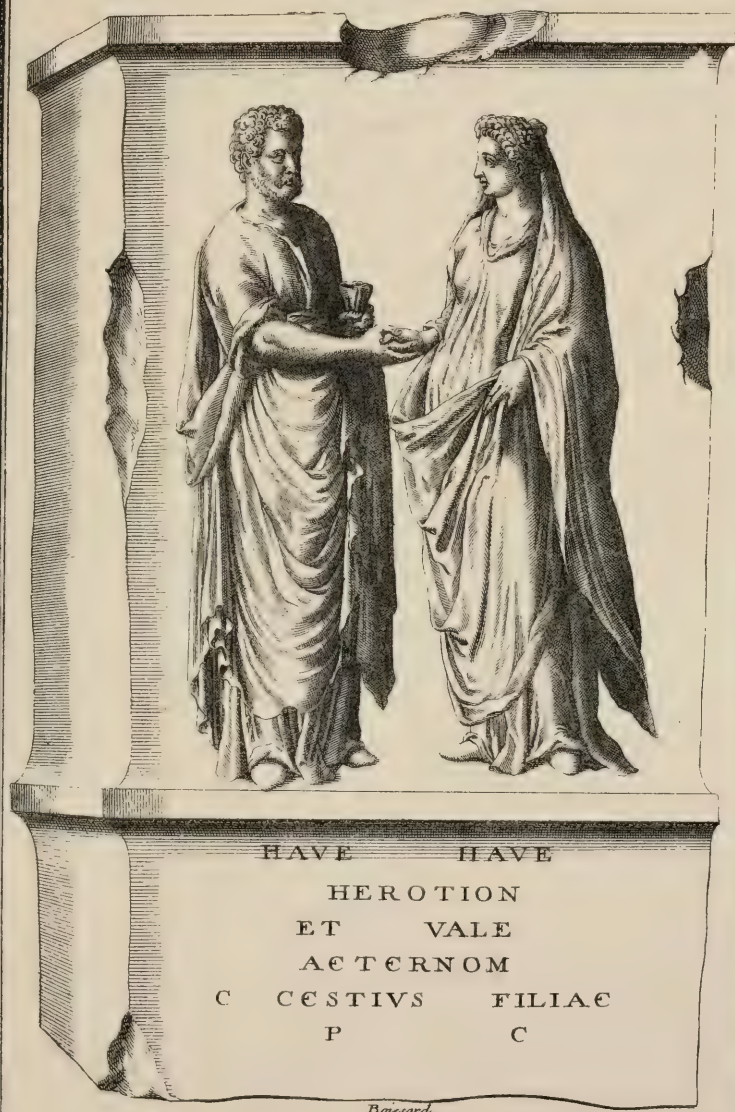
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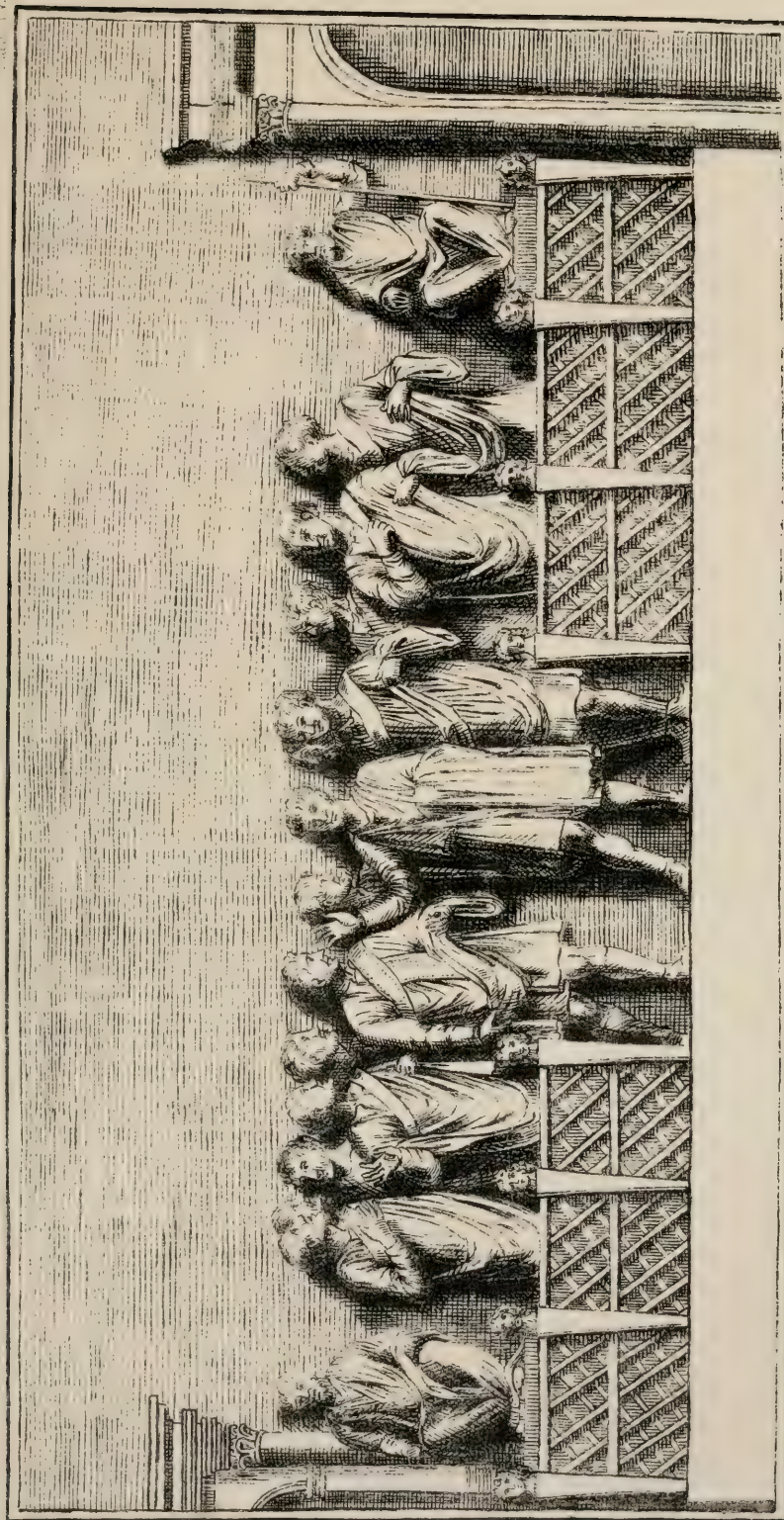


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THE EMPEROR SACRIFICING
From the Column of Trajan



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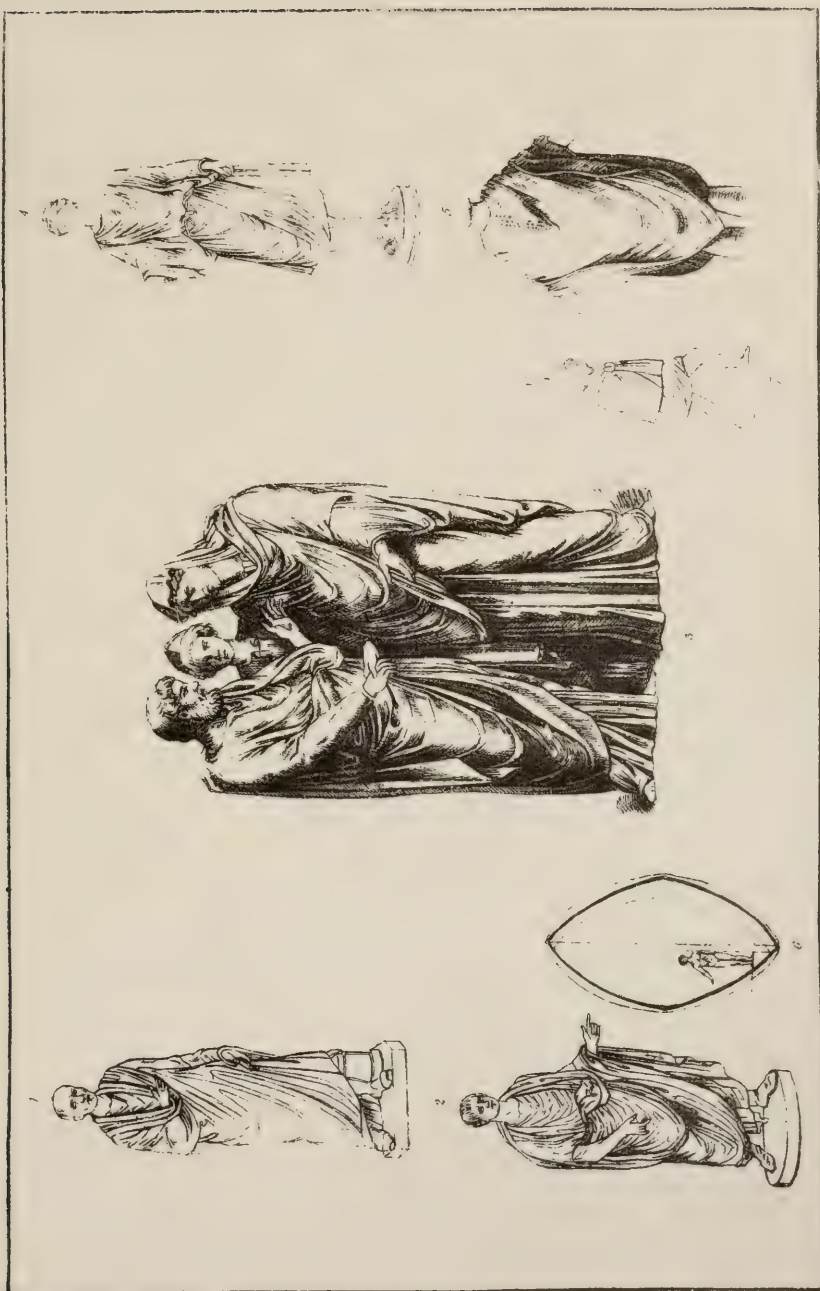
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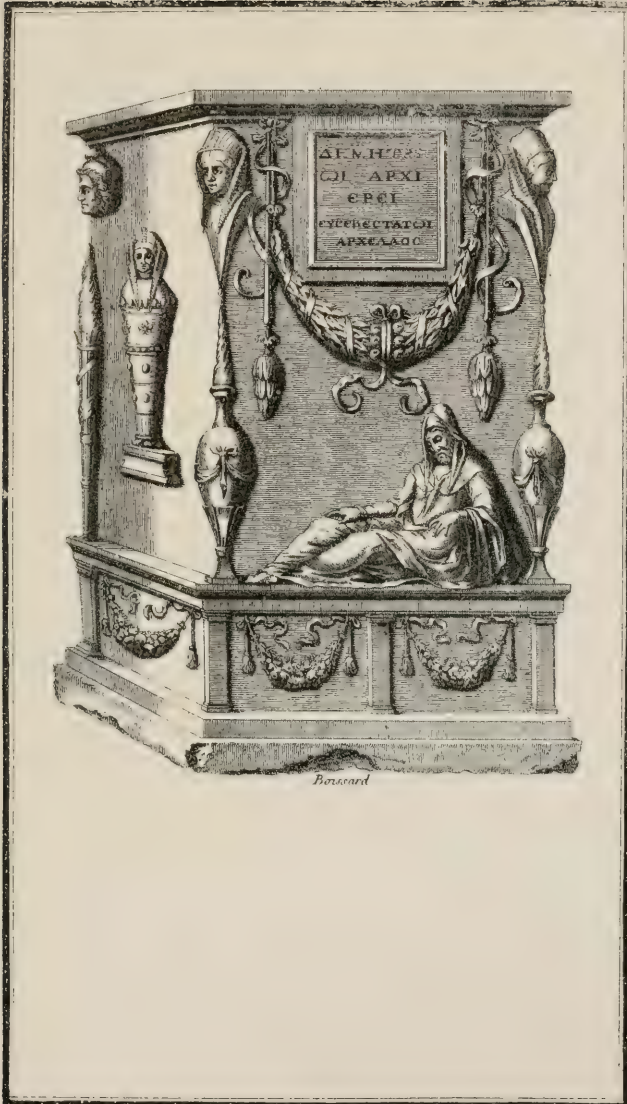
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MONUMENT OF DEMETRIUS



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THE HOLY FAMILY.

From the Cemetery of Priscilla, at Rome.

Plate XI.



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FROM THE CEMETERY OF MARCELLINUS AND PETER
At Rome



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OUR LORD AS THE GIVER OF THE DIVINE WORD.



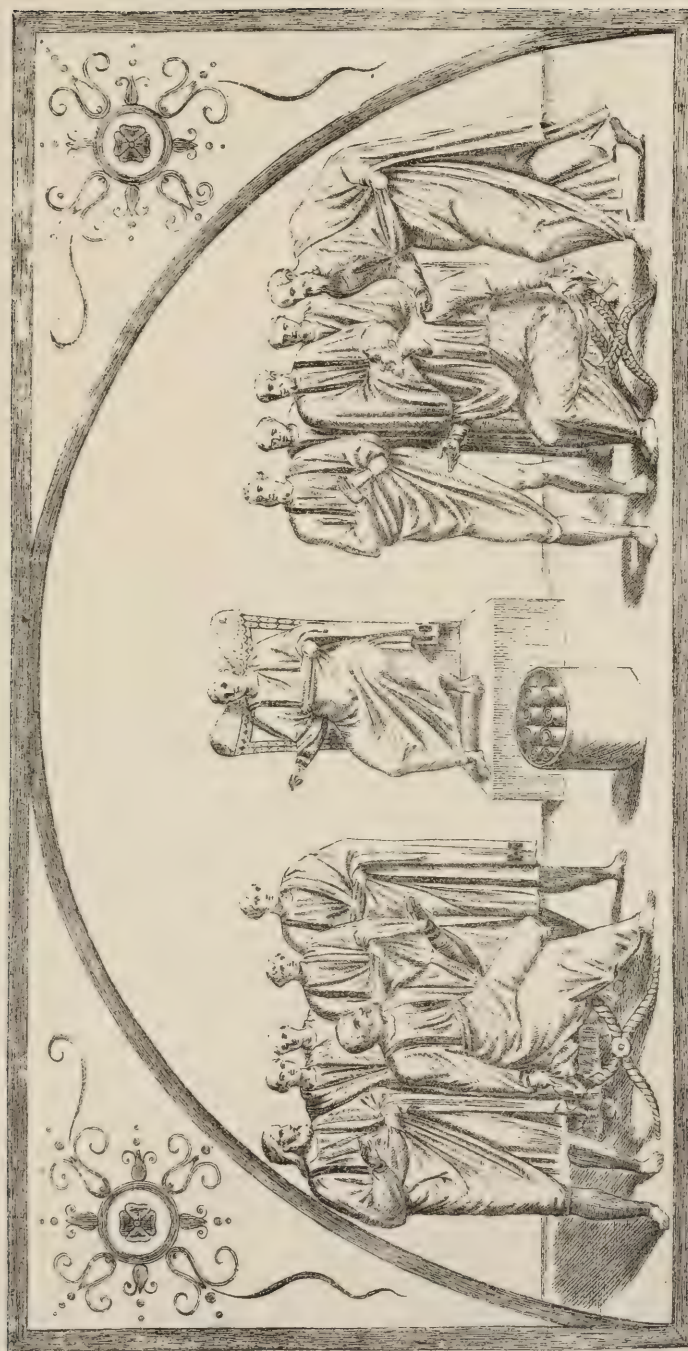
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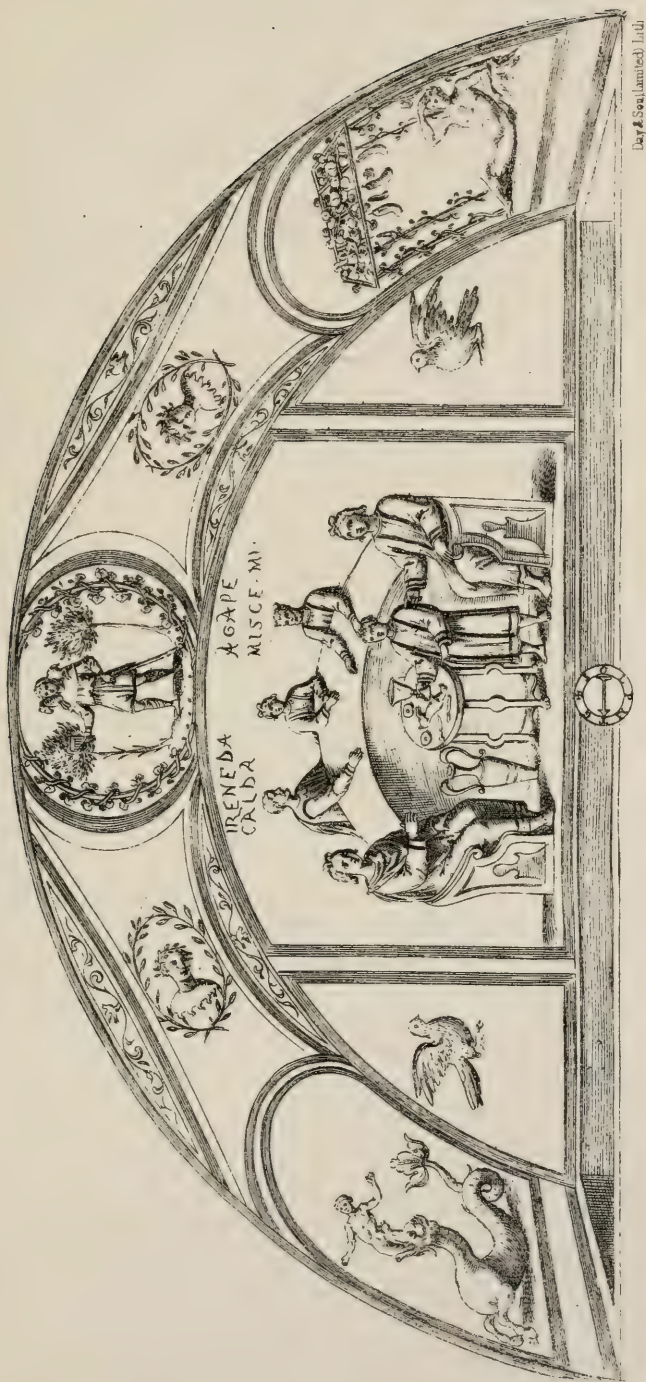
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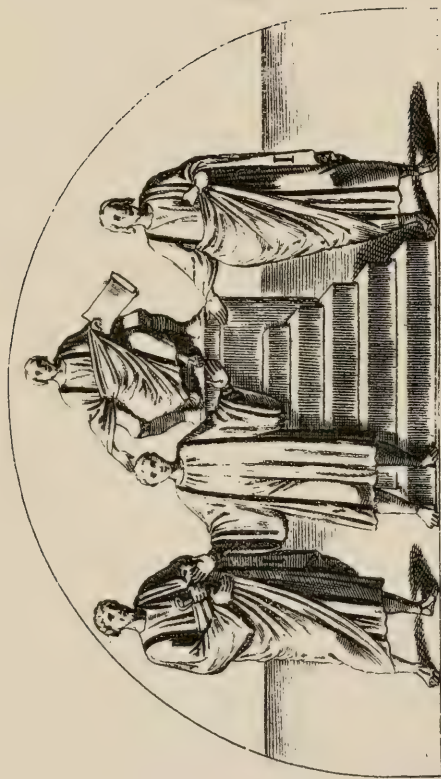


OUR LORD AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES

From the Cemetery of St Callixtus at Rome



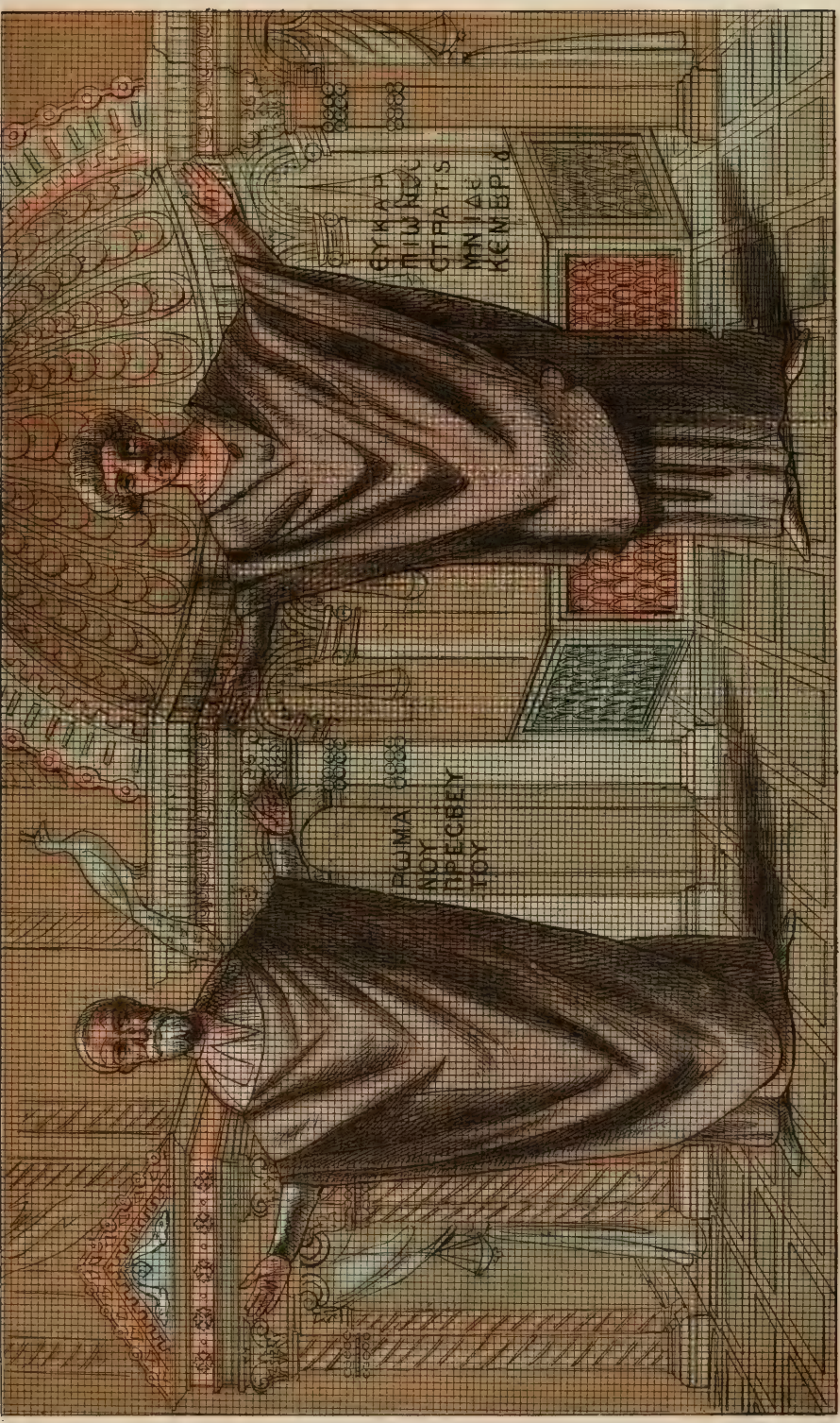
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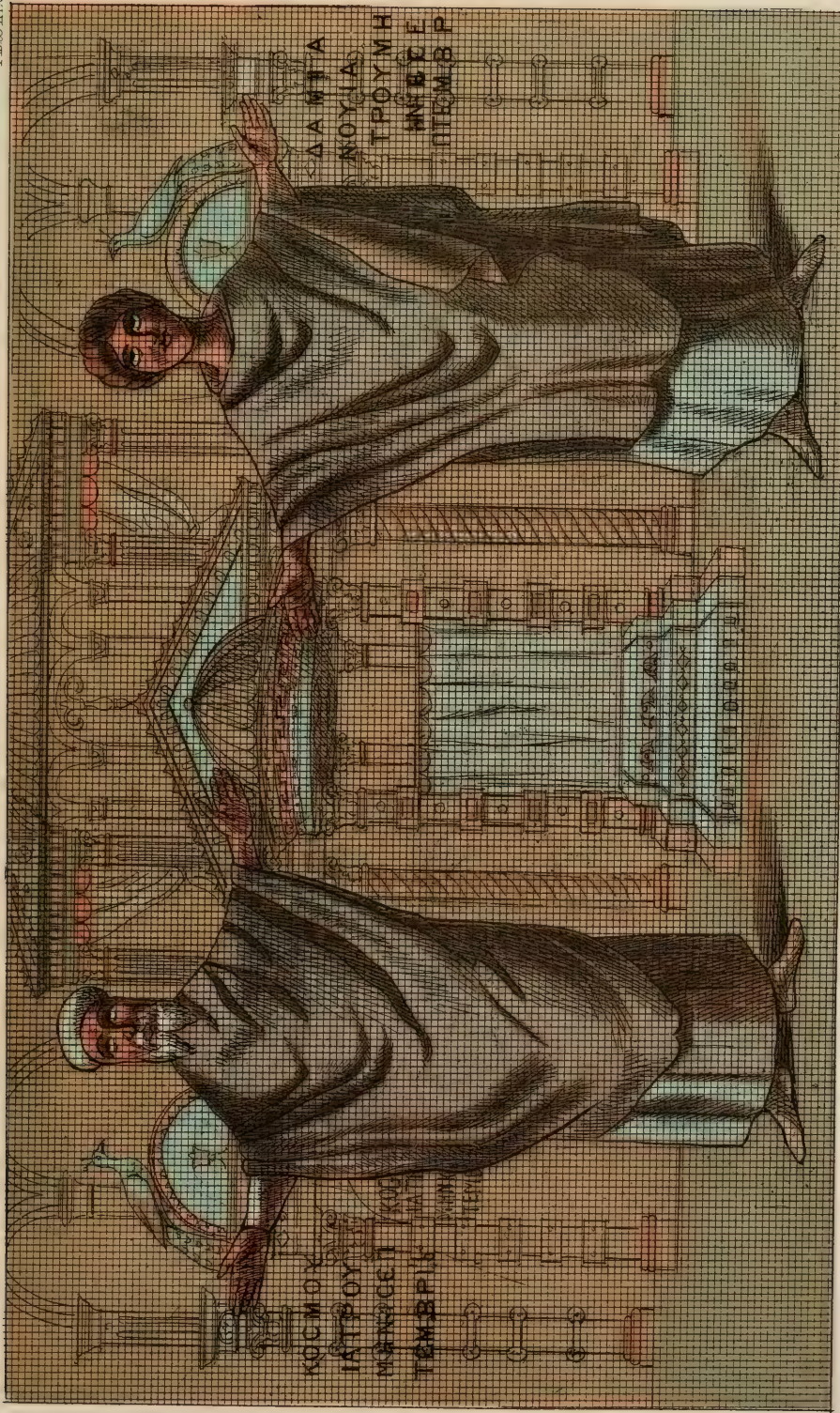
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From the Cemetery of St. Hermes at Rome



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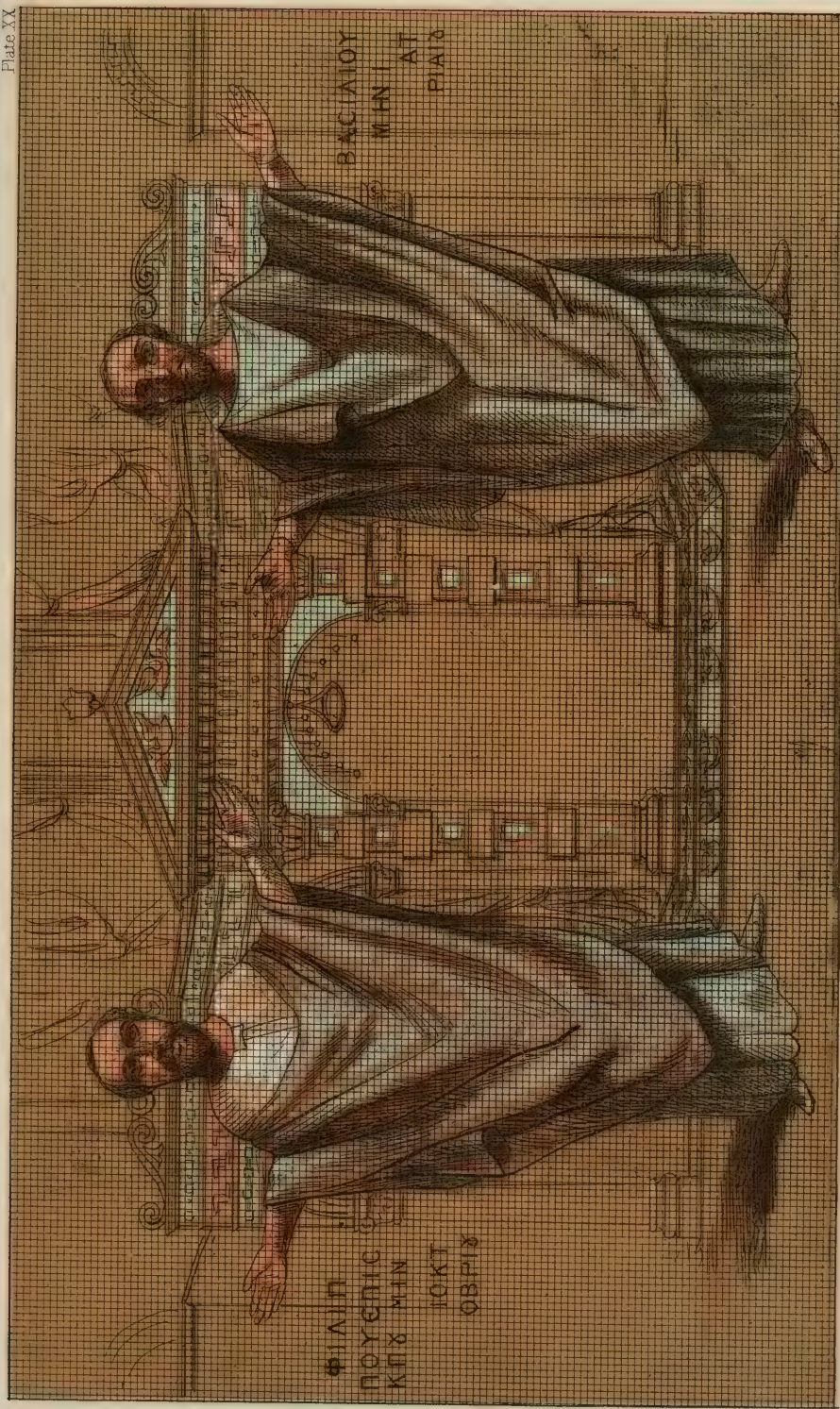
The Presbyter Romanus and S^t Eucarpion Soldier and Martyr.



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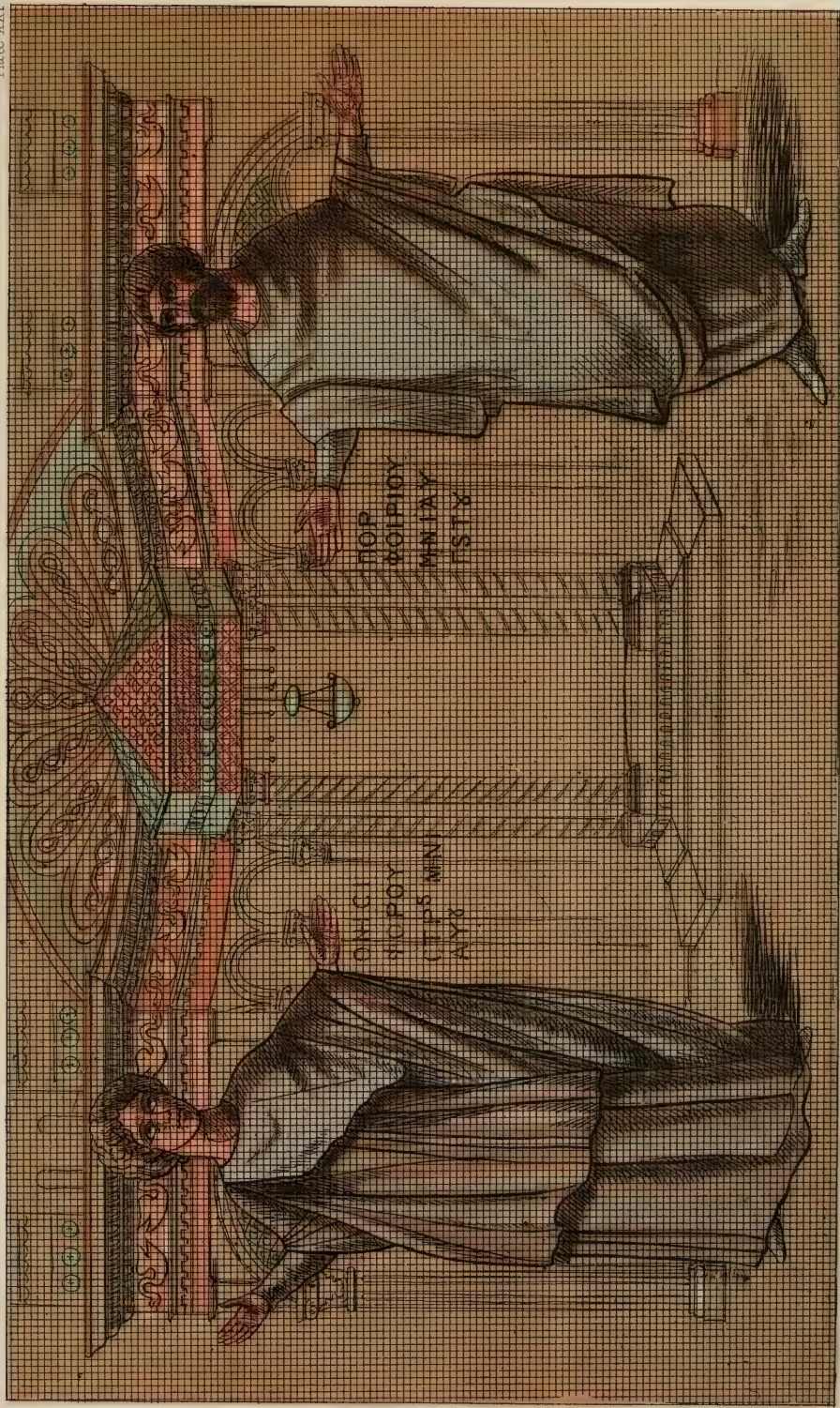
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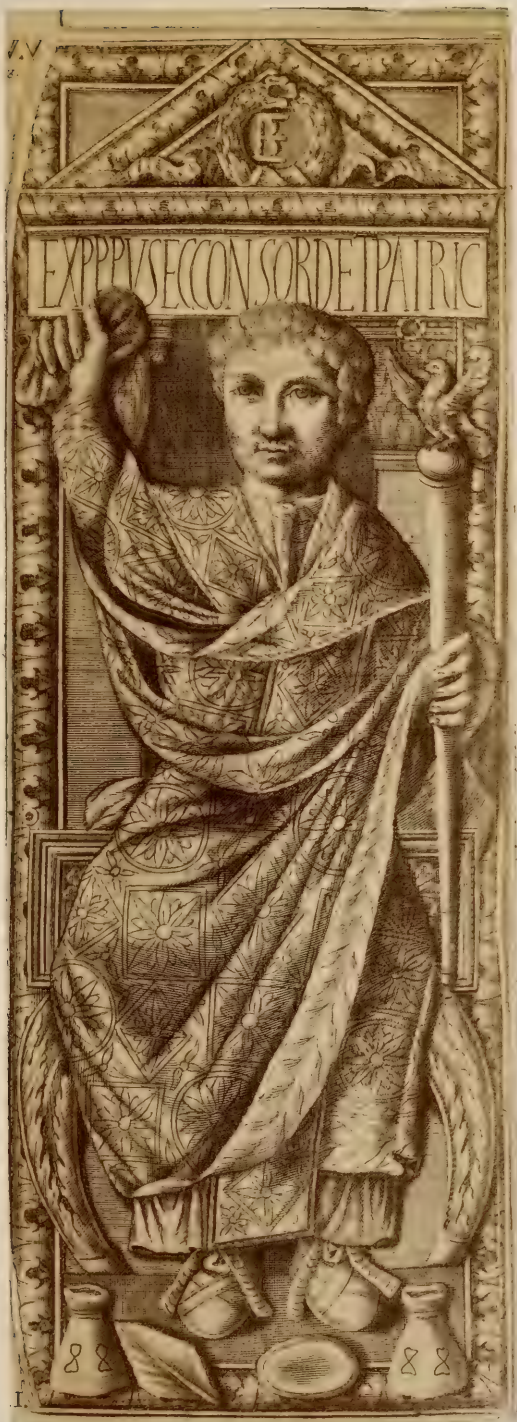
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Onesiphorus of Iconium and Porphyrius his Servant, Martyrs.



DIPTYCH OF BOETHIUS CONSUL OF THE WEST A.D. 510.

From Gori's *Thesaurus Diptychorum*



DIPTYCH OF ELEMENINUS CONSUL 7TH CENT. AD. B.S.



DIPTYCHON OF ST. GREGORY THE GREAT

From the Facsimile Published by the Archaeological Society

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EX AEDICVLA SANCTI ANDREAE
PROPE BEATI GREGORII MAGNI ECCLESIAM,
NECNON EX VITA EIVSDEM BEATI GREGORII
A IOANNE DIACONO LIB.IV. CAP. LXXXIII. ET LXXXIV.
CONSCRIPTA.



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ST GREGORY THE GREAT

His Father Cordianus and his Mother Sylvia



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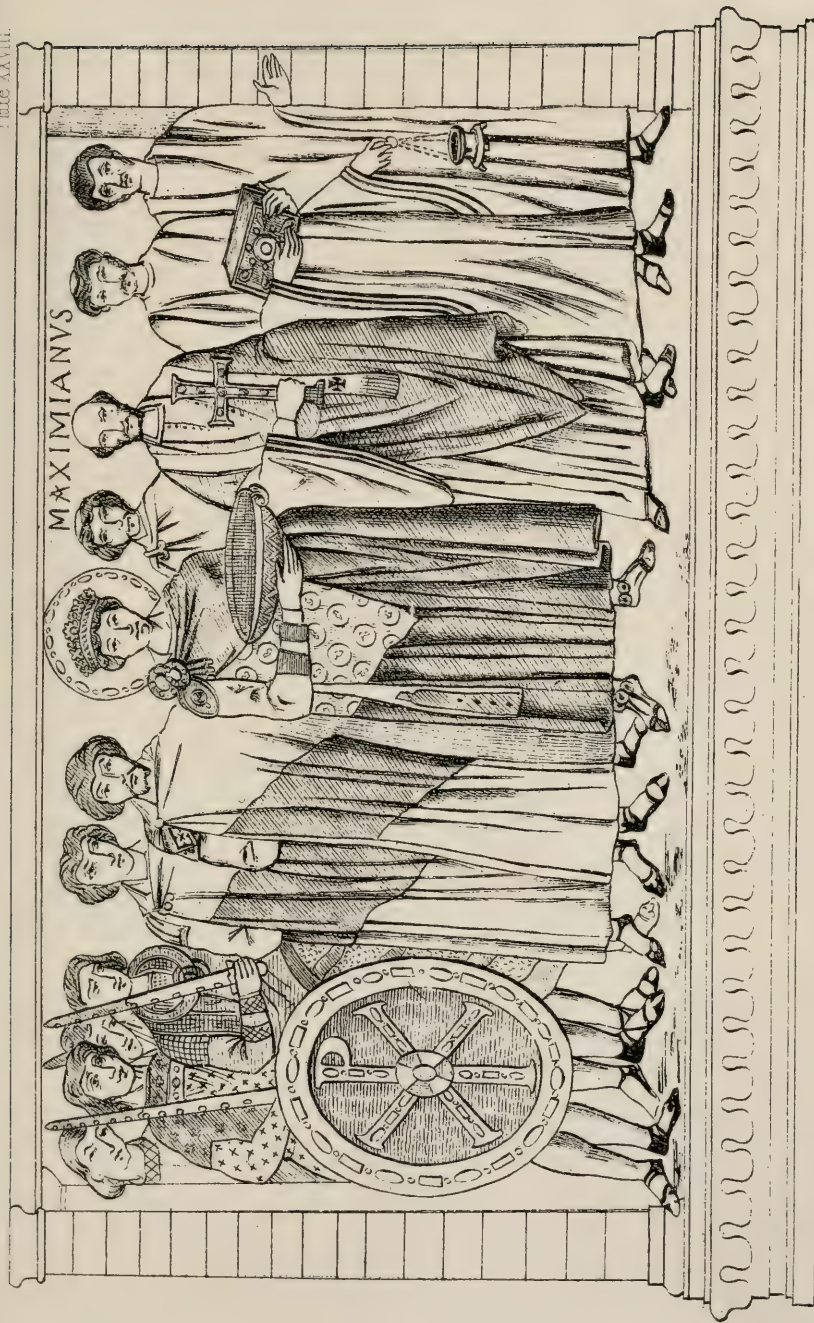


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AMMONIUS
of Alexandria.

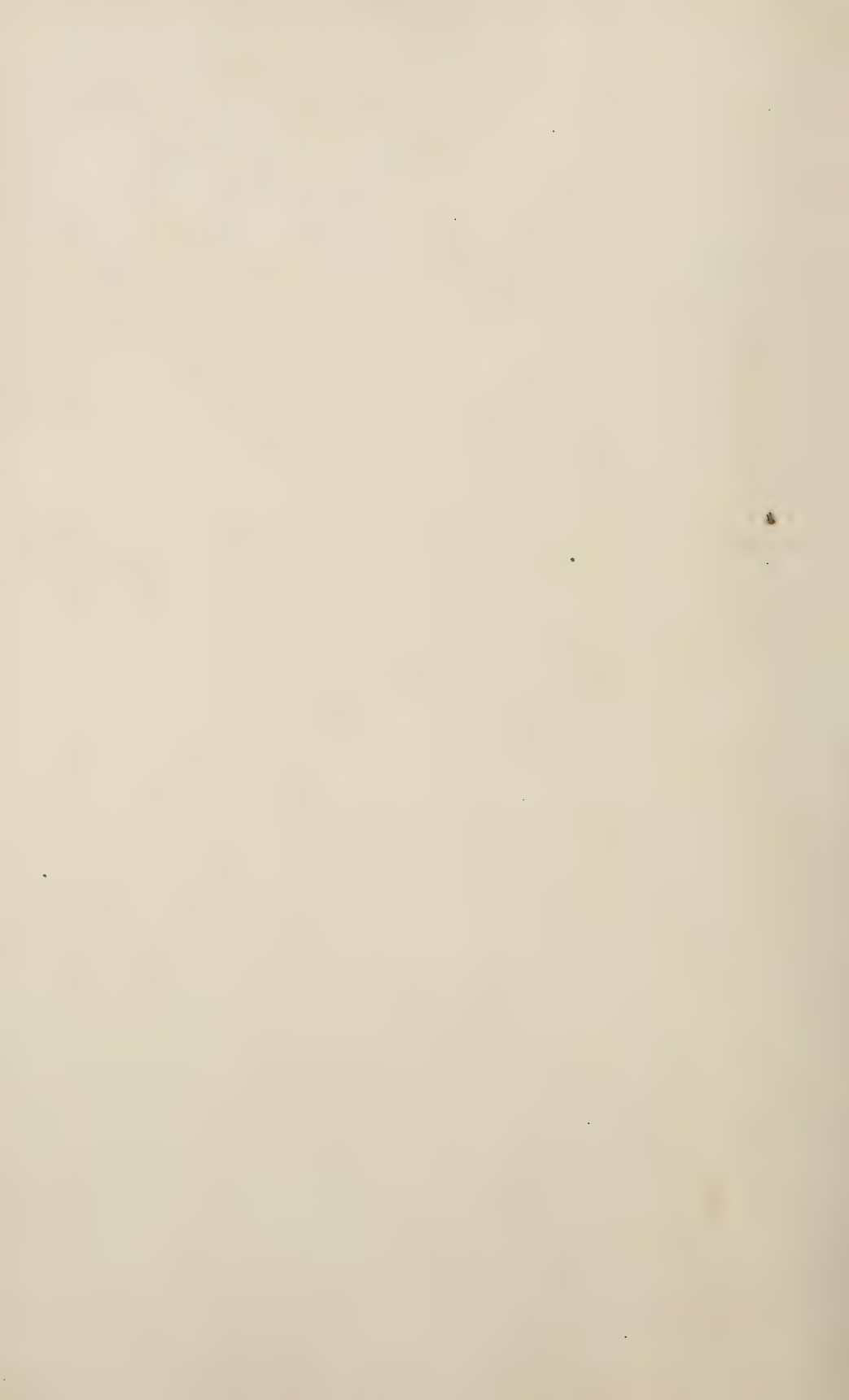
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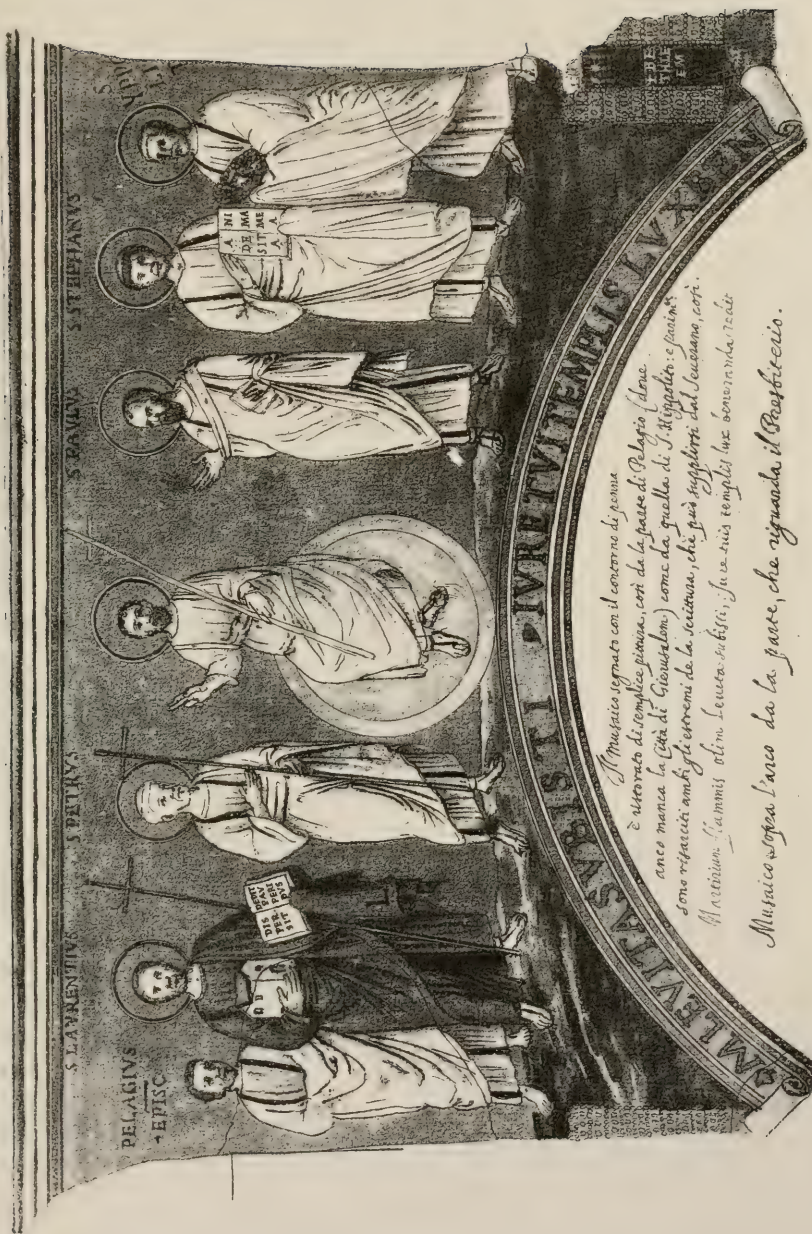


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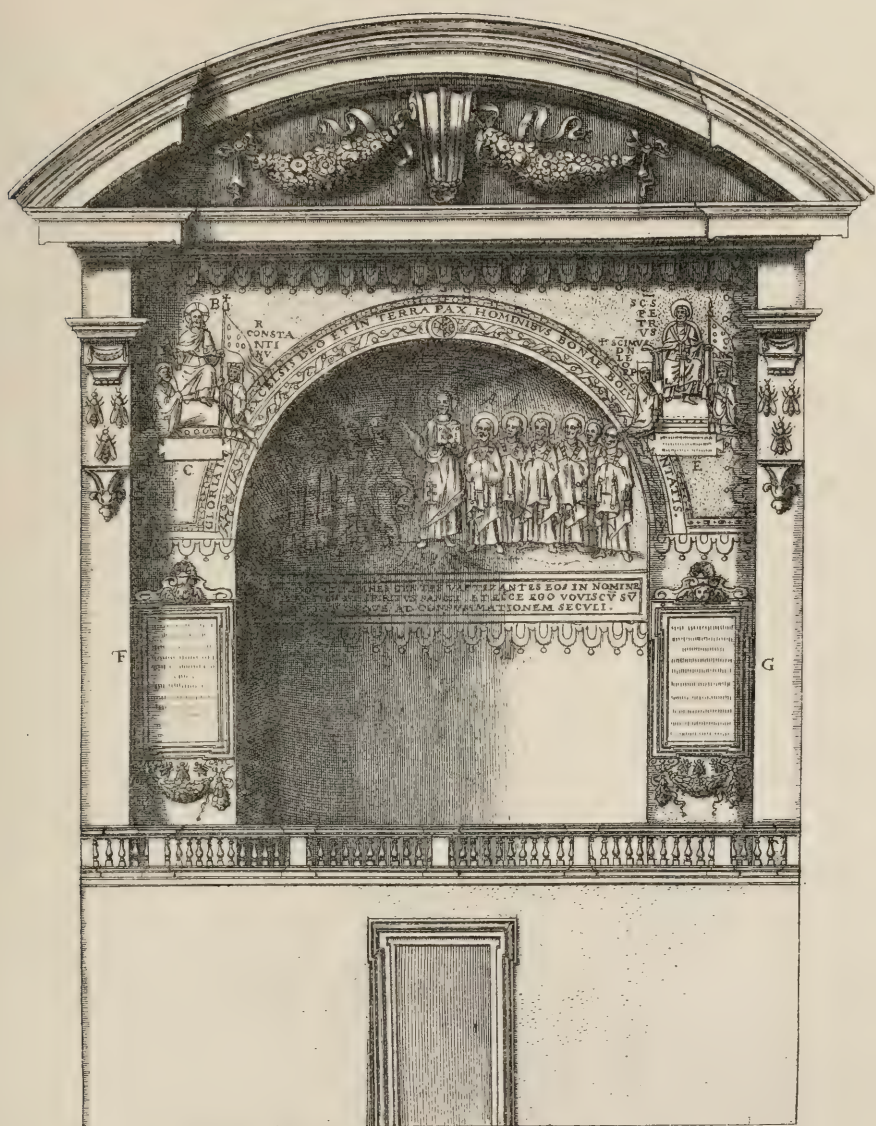
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Close of VIth Century

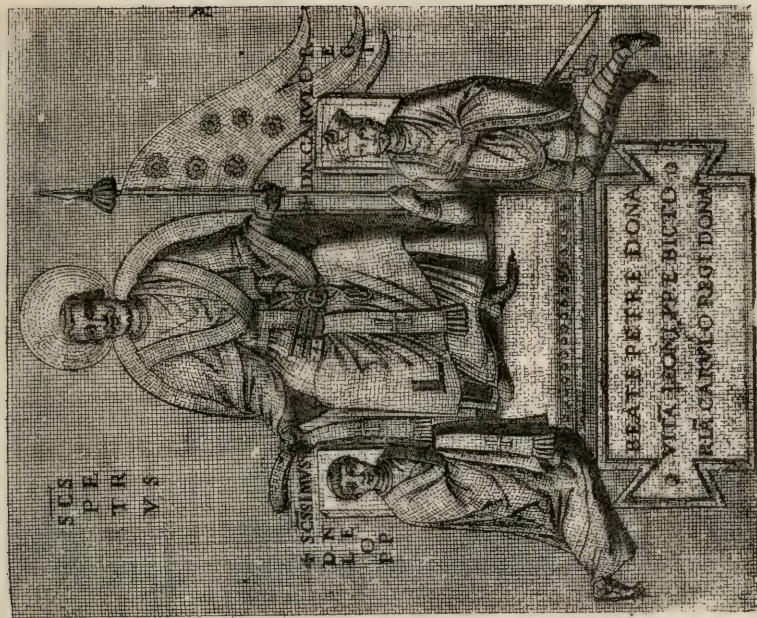


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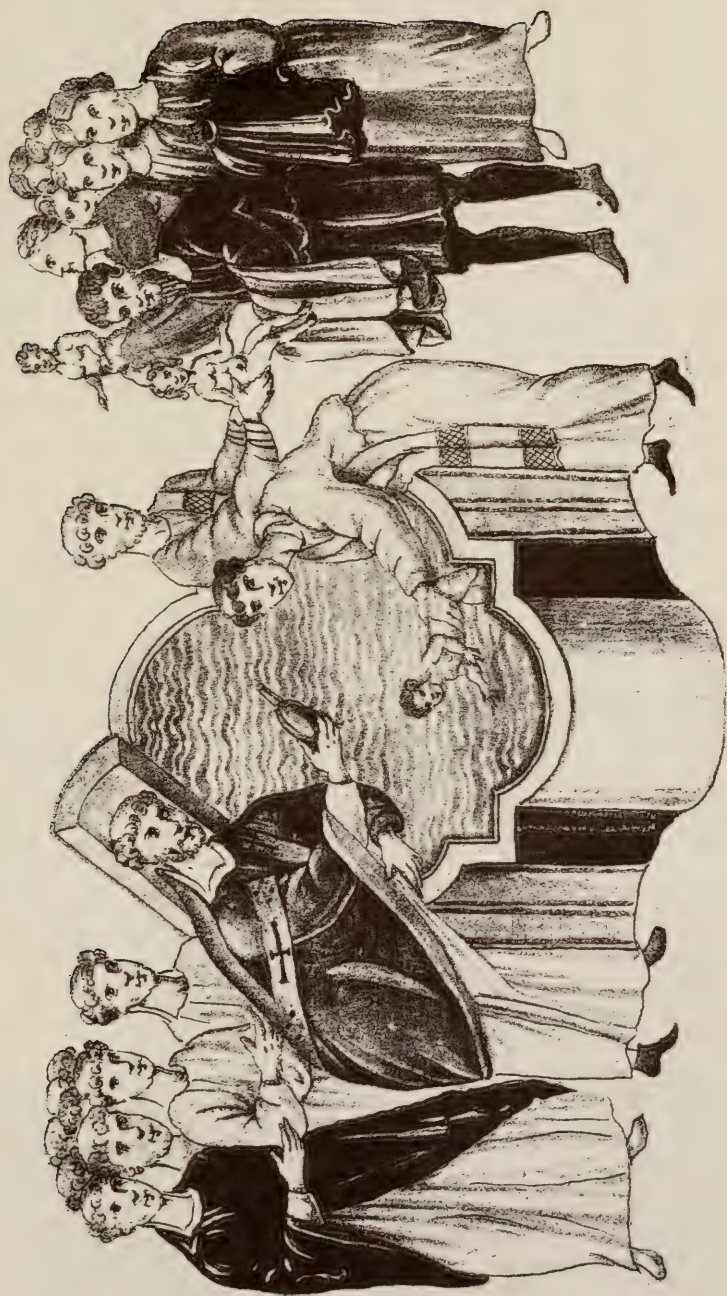


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Sedente Leone PP. IV. AD. 847 855.



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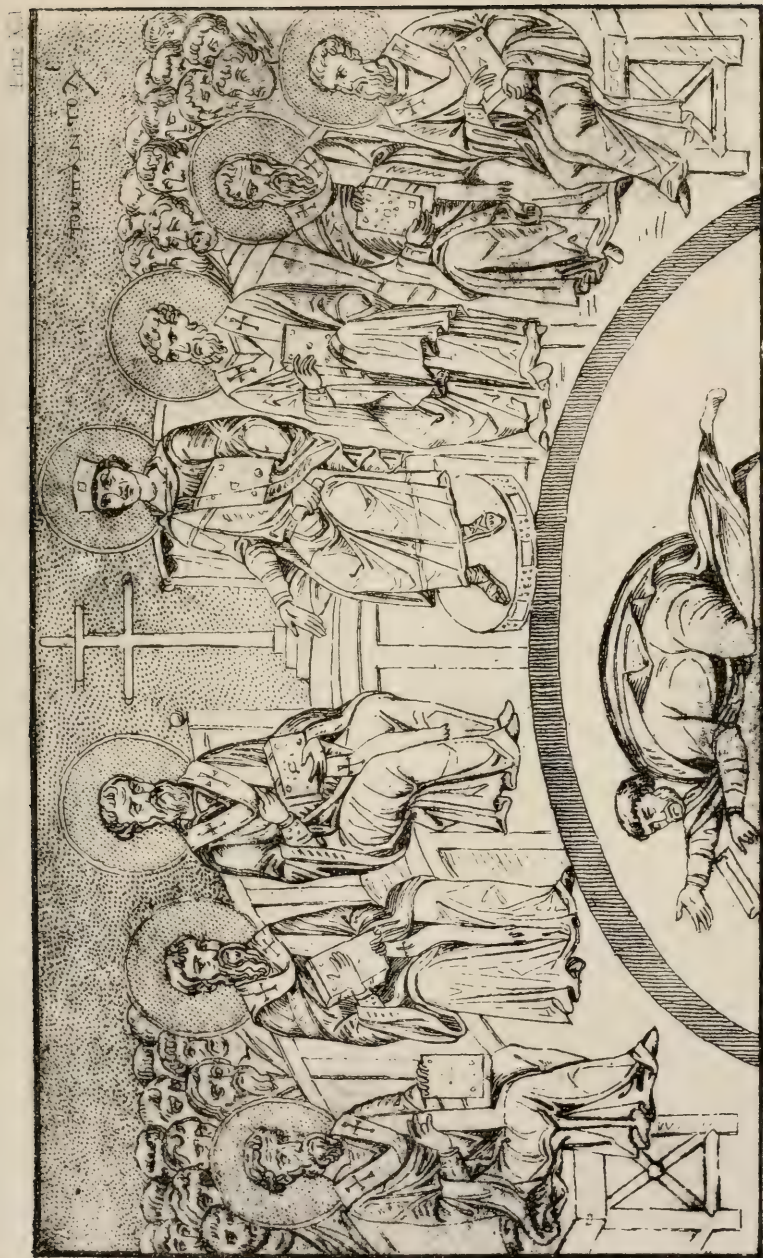
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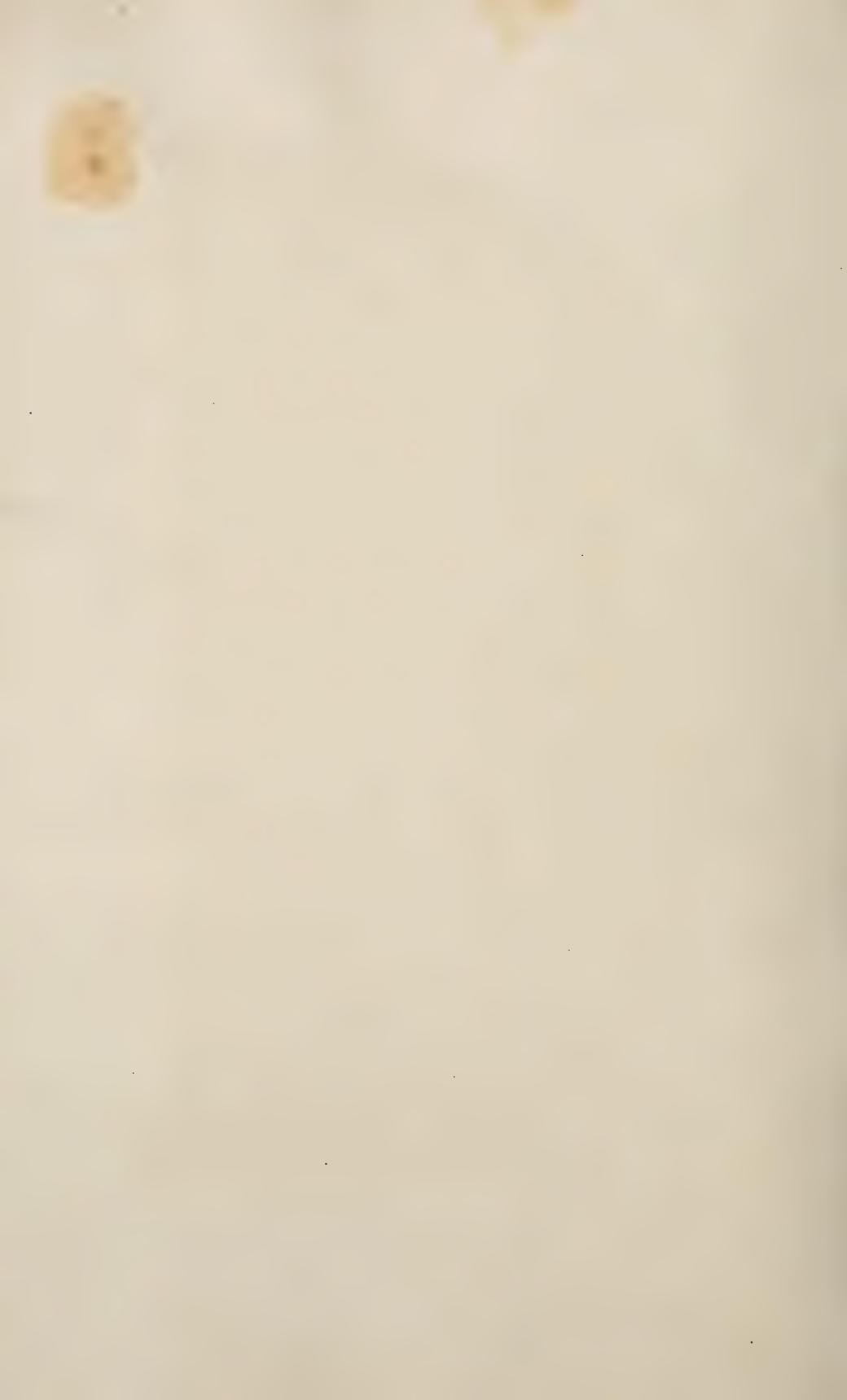
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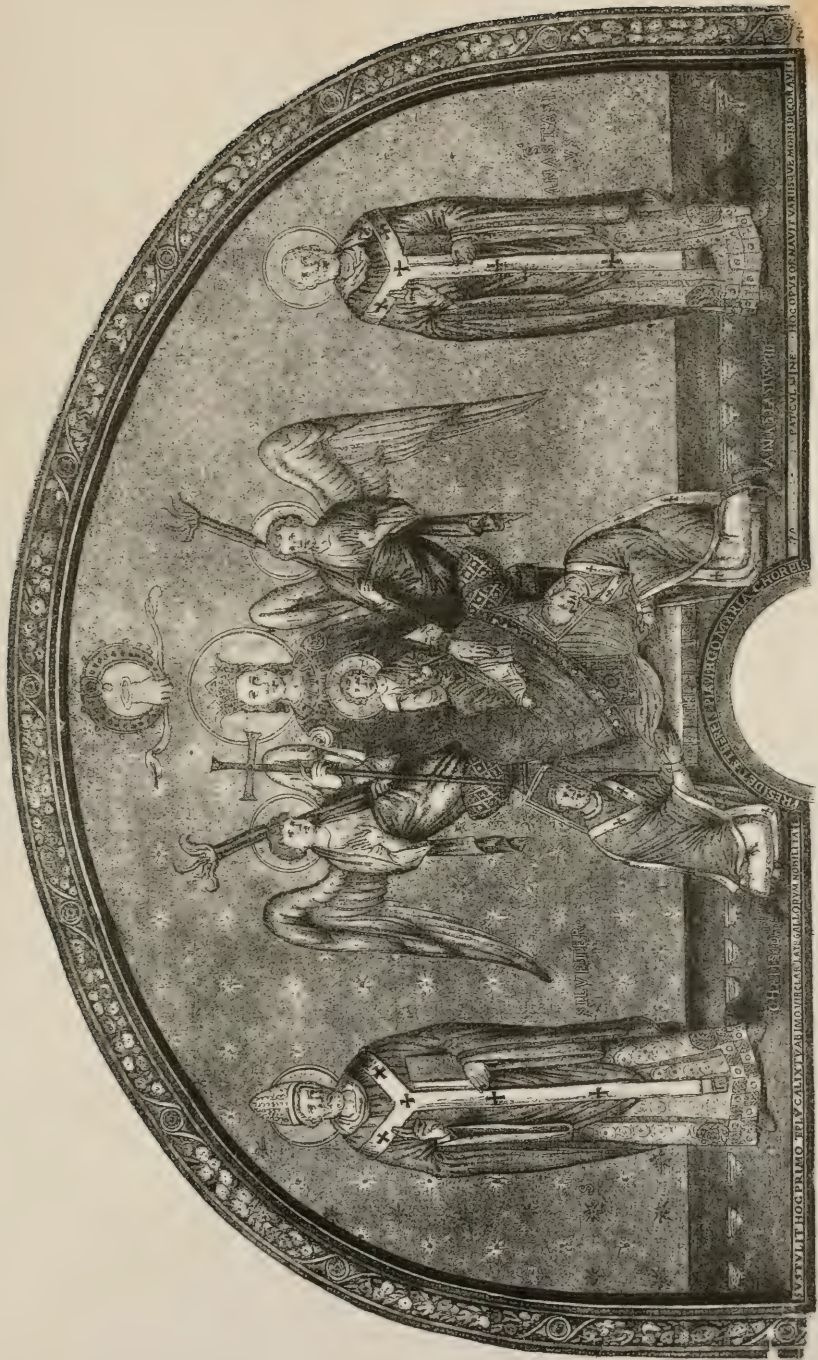


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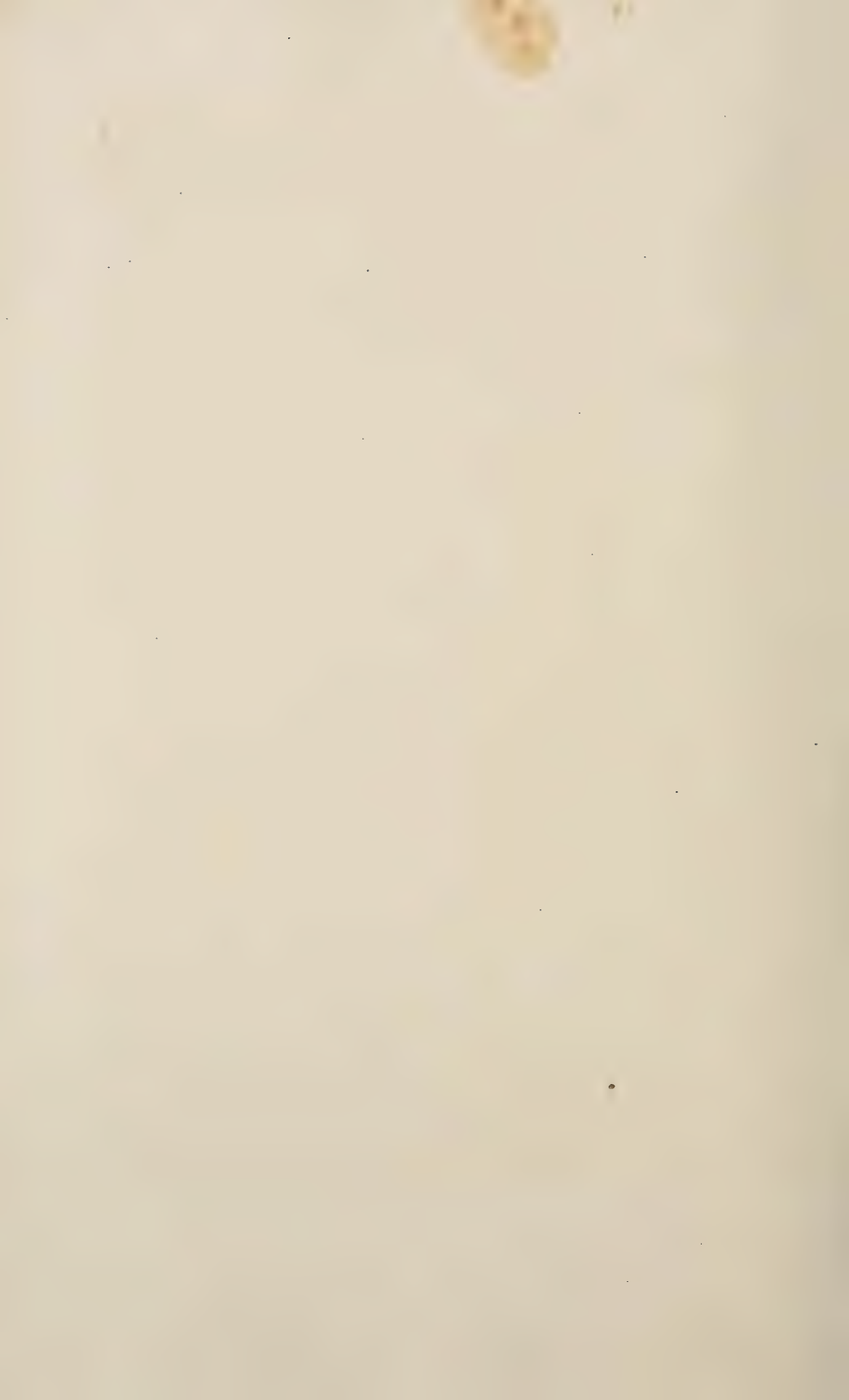
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Sedente Innocentio PP. III. AD. 1130. 1143.





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S. NICHOLAI ET S. BASILII. Church of S. Nicholas in Urbe, Rome



Grego Innocenti³ catholice
eccle ap^o d^o.

1130 — 1143. reg.



1143. reg.

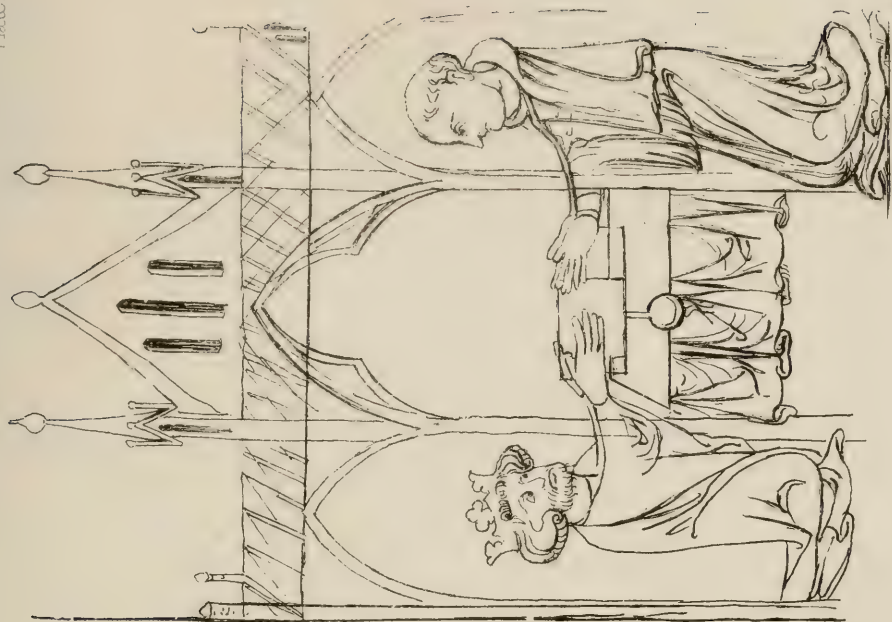
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Is consecrated first Archbishop of Scotland.
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INVESTITURE OF WILLIGODA,

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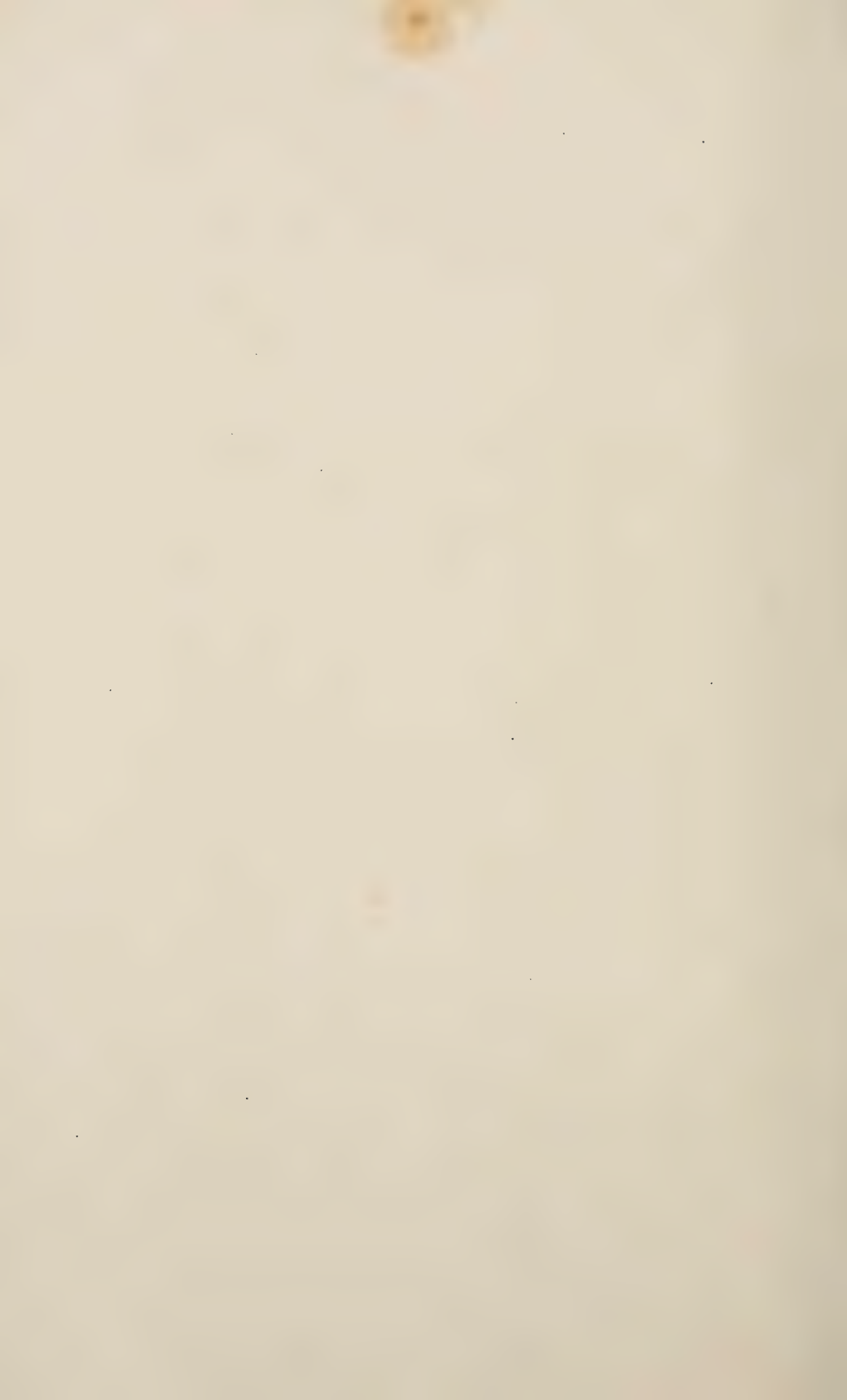


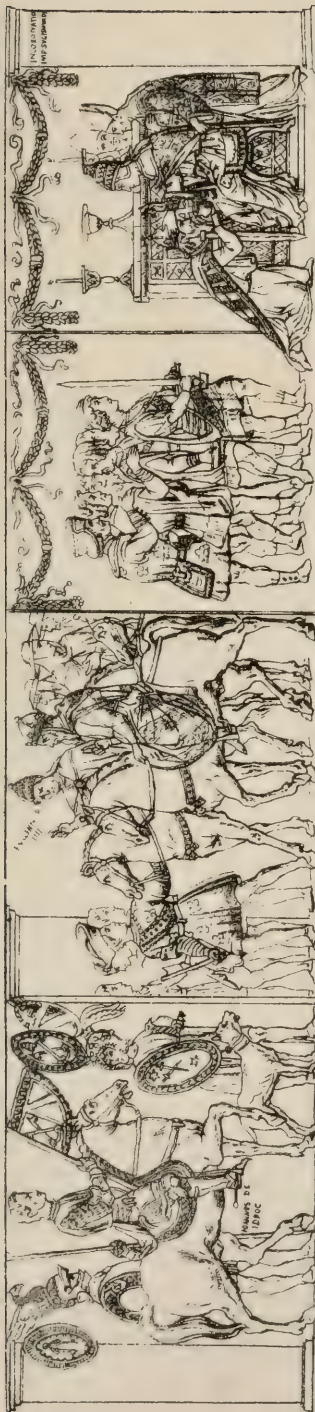


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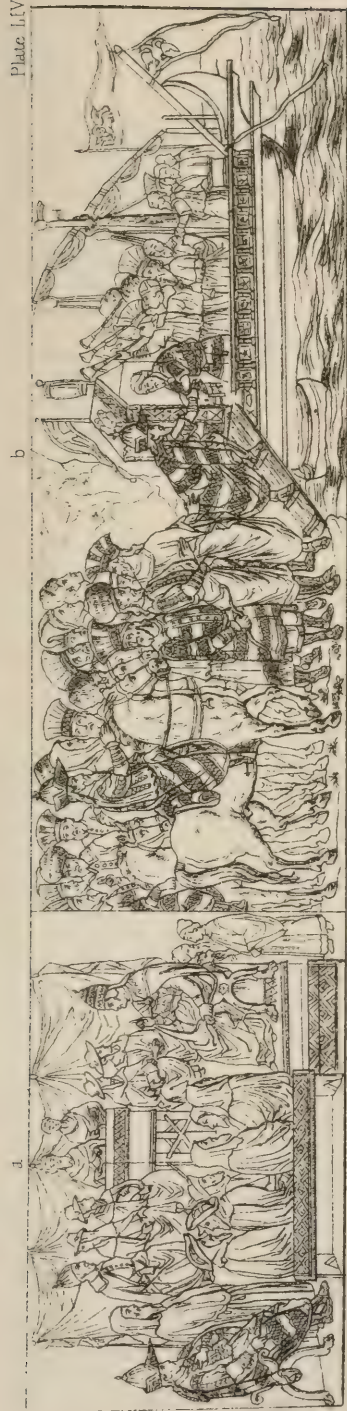
CORONATION OF THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND.
and Procession to the Castle of St Angelo



Day & Son Limited Lith

THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE

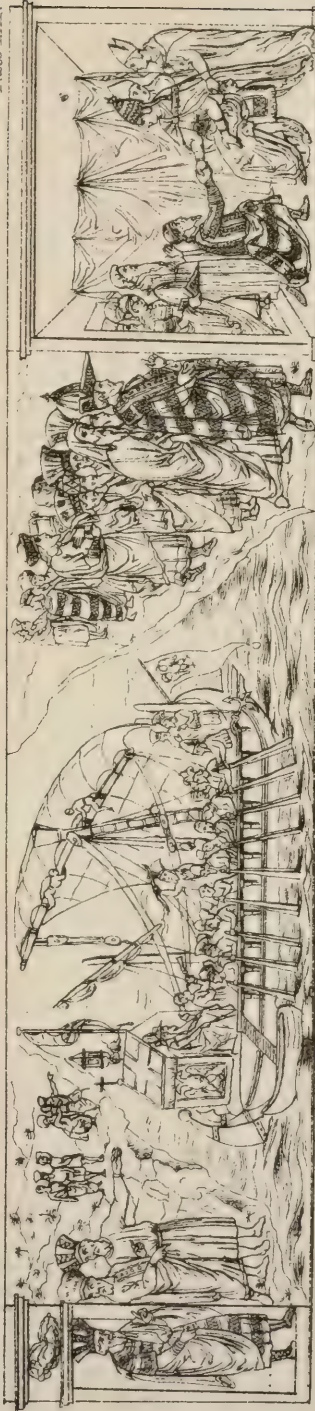
a Reception of Envoys from Eastern Churches. b Their solemn entrance into Rome



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THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE

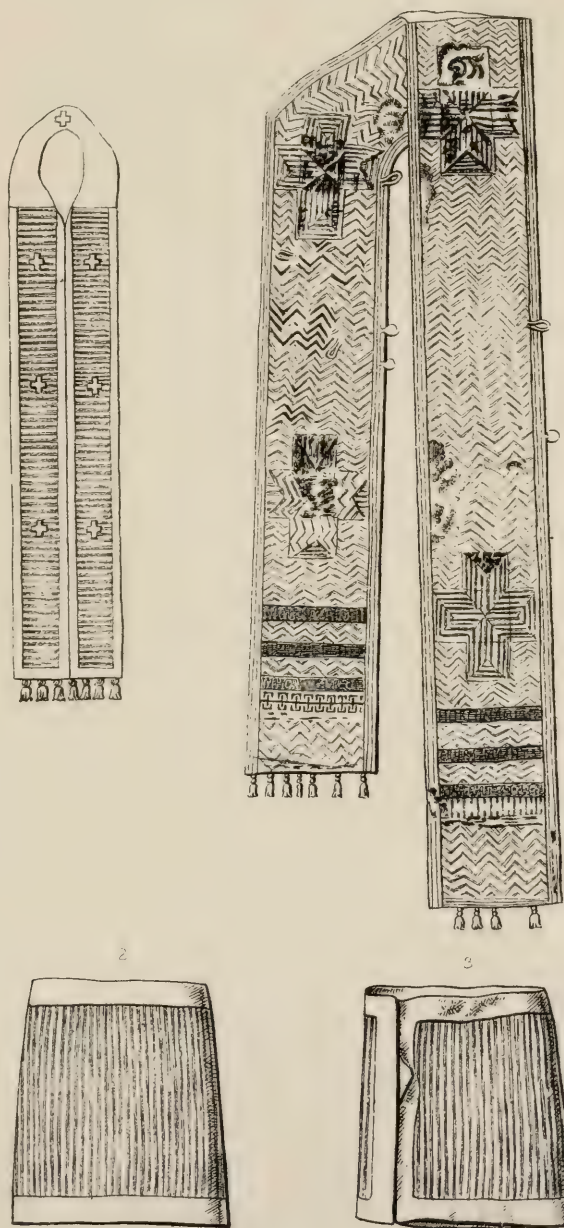
a. Session of the Council. b. Departure of the Emperor & Embarkation



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THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE.

a. The Departure from Constantinople. b. The Reception at Ferrara

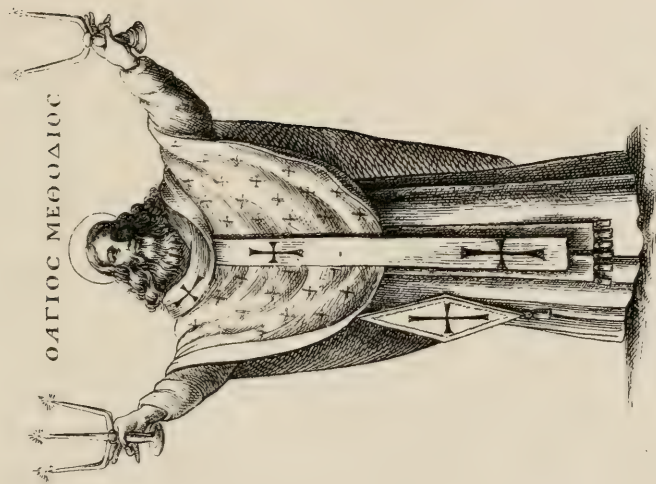




A LEATHERN BREASTPLATE AND GIRDLE,

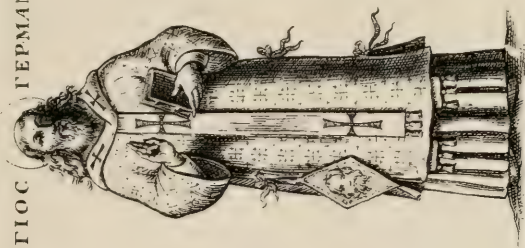
Found in a Stone Coffin in the Church of the Passion at Moscow.

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΣΑΜΥΩΝ

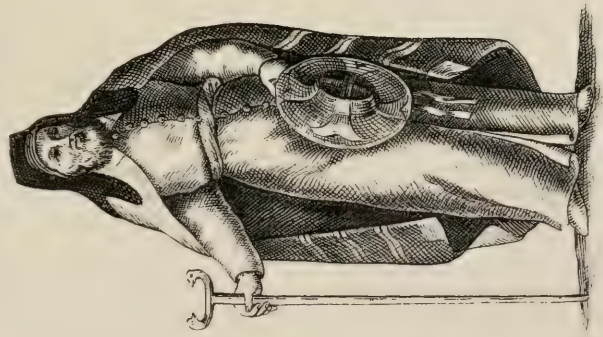


Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΣ

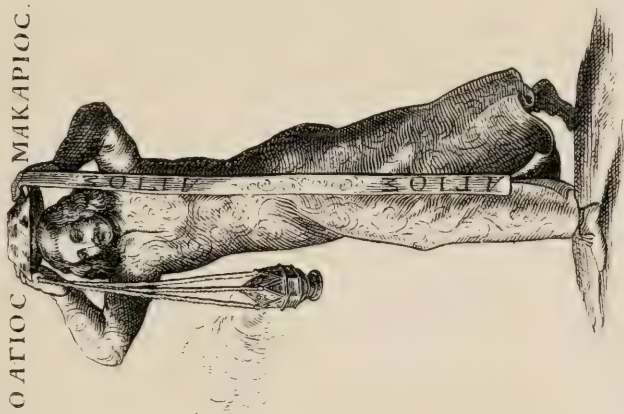
Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΣ



Ο ΒΕΚΚΟΣ ΠΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ.



Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ.



A GREEK PATRIARCH
In Walking Costume

A GREEK DEACON,
with Sticharion and Orarion



Day & Son (Limited) Ltd.

THE PATRIARCH NIKON, circa 1650 A.D.

The face is from an authentic Portrait. The Cowl here figured is still preserved.

1. Cope

2. Neck

3. Cuffs

4. Sleeves of Alb

5. Waist

6. Mante

7. Alb

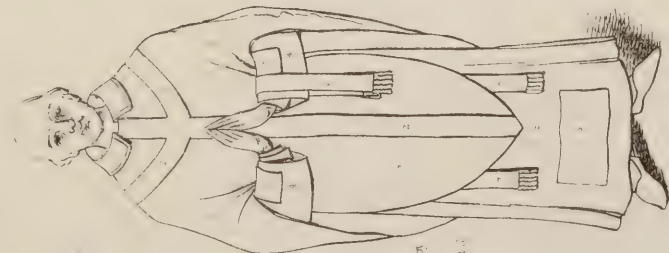
8. Appare of Alb

9. The stole is worn in

front

crossed in front

fastened by a girdle



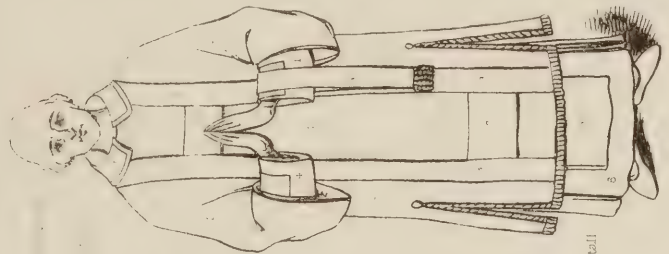
A Priest

MAN VESTMENTS

A Bishop



A Deacon



1. Cope

2. Neck

3. Cuffs

4. Sleeves of Alb

5. Waist

6. Mante

7. Alb

8. Appare of Alb

9. The stole is worn by

Deacons over the left arm.

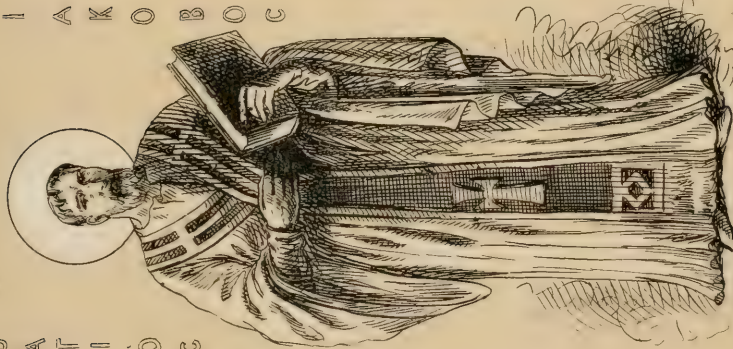


Θ Α Γ Γ Ι Ο C

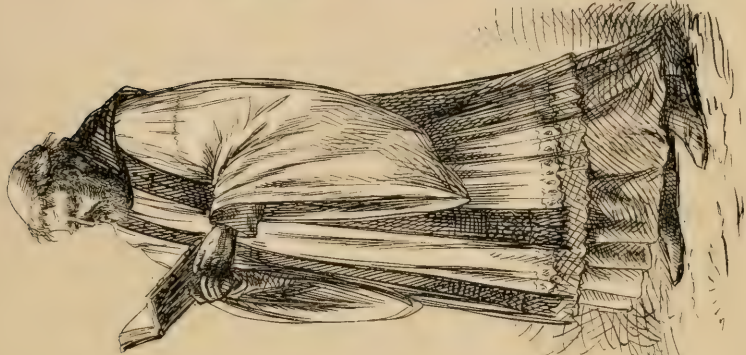


From the fresco at Ravenna
4th or 5th Century.

Ι Α Κ Ο Β Ο C



From Trebizond
13th Century



Florence
15th Century

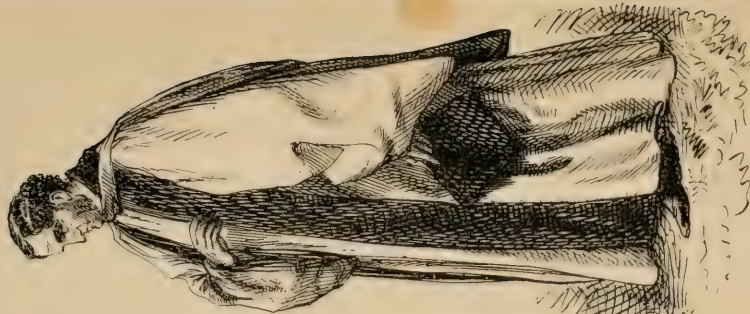
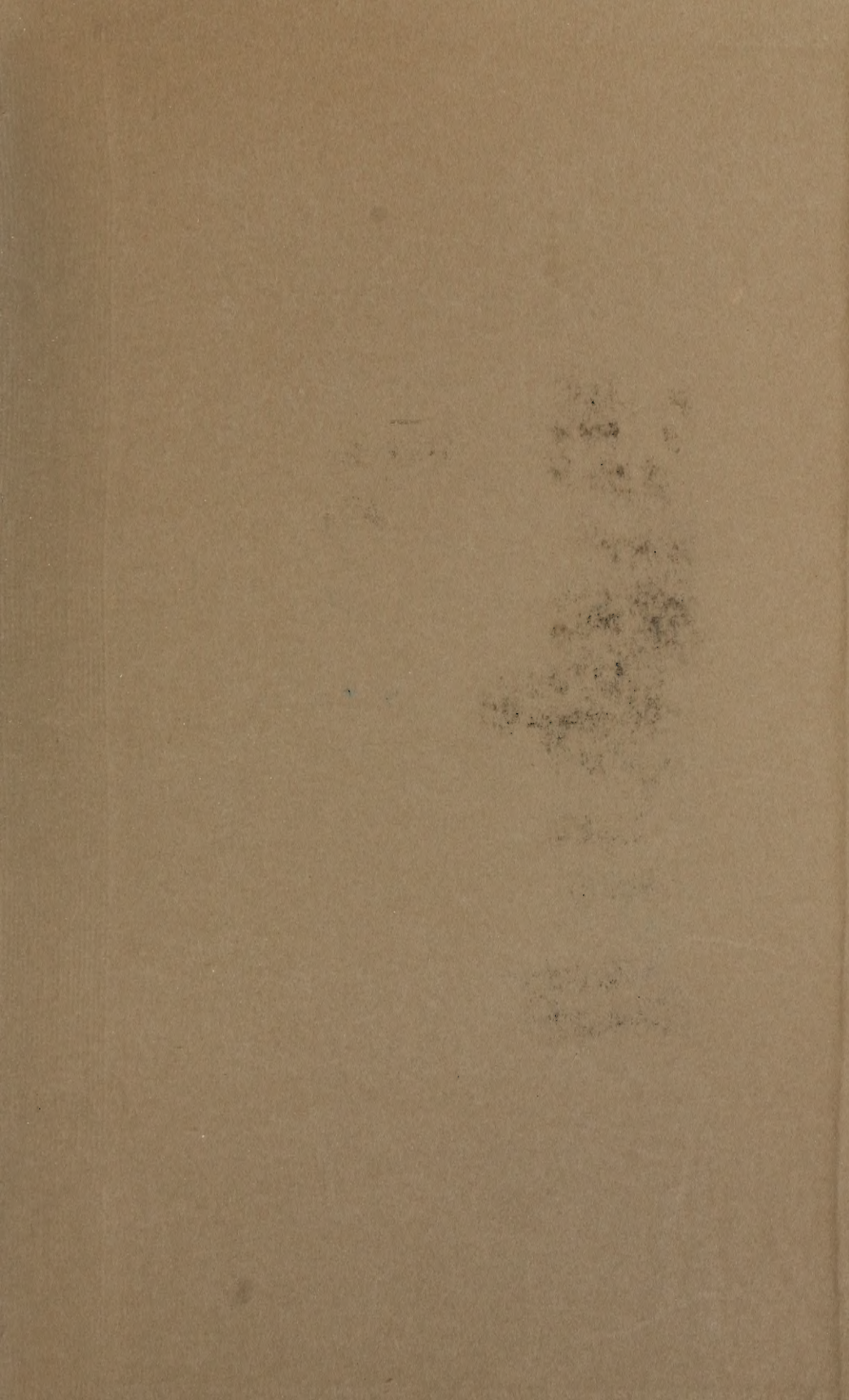


Fig. 2. 2. 1
19th Century



Date Due

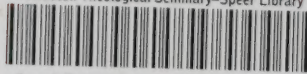
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FEB 18 2000		
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AUG 6 1992		
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SEP 20 2001		
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